

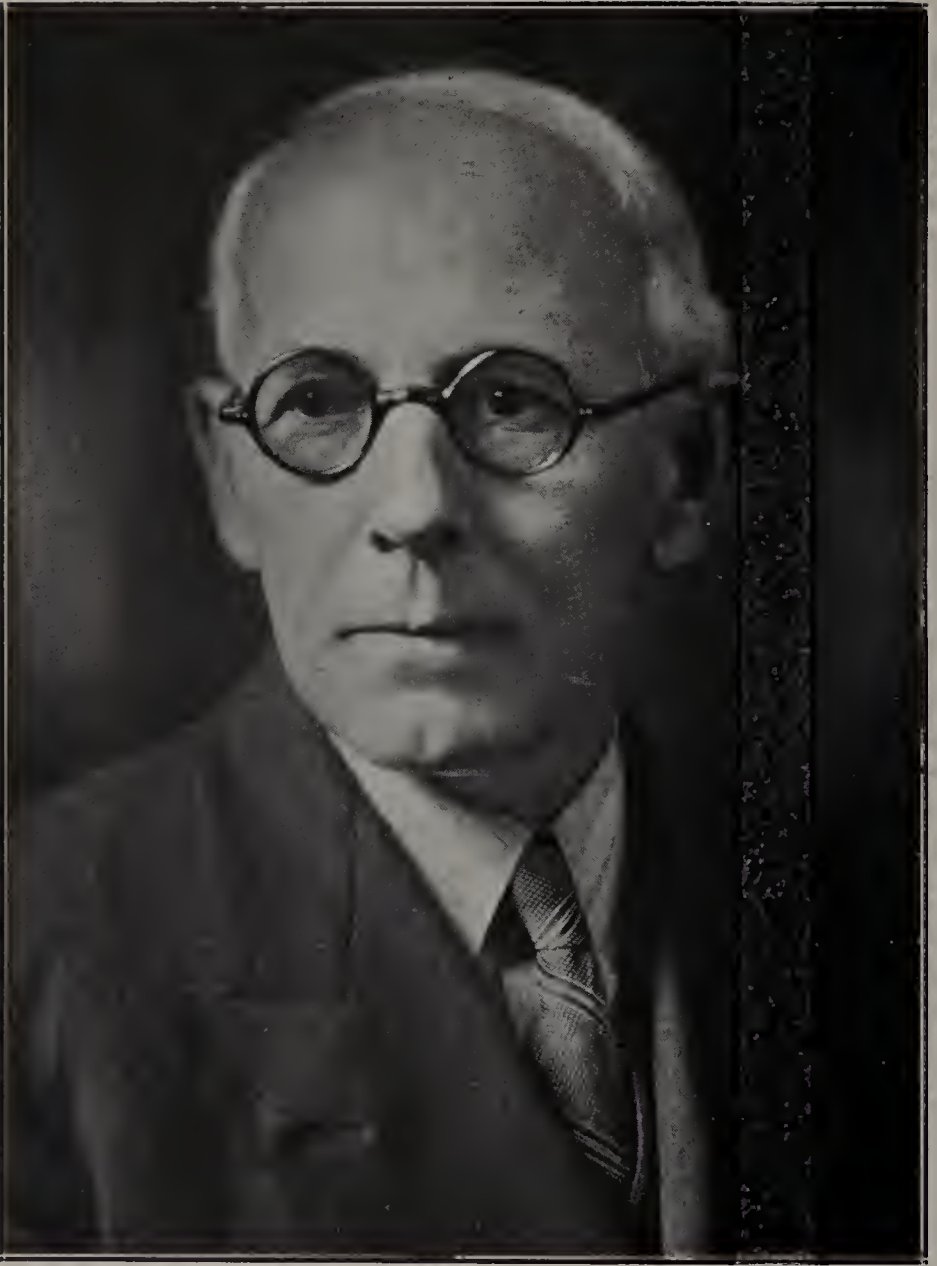
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HARVARD STUDIES
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CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY

*EDITED BY A COMMITTEE OF THE CLASSICAL
INSTRUCTORS OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY*

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To

WILLIAM SCOTT FERGUSON

PREFATORY NOTE

THE *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* are published by authority of Harvard University and are contributed chiefly by its instructors and graduates, although contributions from other sources are not excluded. The present volume is one of two published in honor of William Scott Ferguson, McLean Professor of Ancient and Modern History in Harvard University. It contains essays by all except two of the former students who obtained the degree of Ph.D. under his direction. R. L. Stroock is represented by an essay published posthumously, together with a memoir kindly contributed by Dr. Bernard Bandler. An essay by Professor Mason Hammond, a colleague in the teaching of Ancient History at Harvard, is also included. The frontispiece is from a plate given by the American Historical Association, of which Professor Ferguson was President in 1939.

As in the other regular volumes of the *Studies*, there are included here the summaries of Dissertations submitted during the current year for the degree of Ph.D. in Classical Philology, in Mediaeval Latin, and in Comparative Philology.

The publication of the present volume has been made possible in large measure by a gift from Mr. Sol M. Stroock, and by the regular income of the *Harvard Studies*, derived from a fund of about \$15,000 generously subscribed by the Class of 1856.

The other volume in honor of Professor Ferguson bears the title *Athenian Studies*, and is published separately as a Supplementary Volume of the *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*. Twenty-one European and American scholars have contributed to it.

Both volumes have been edited by Professor Ferguson's students; they have received generous help from the Editorial Committee of the Department of the Classics, consisting of Professor Edward Kennard Rand, Professor Arthur Stanley Pease, and Dr. Gerald Frank Else.

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BIBLIOGRAPHY OF WILLIAM SCOTT FERGUSON
TO JULY, 1940

Abbreviations

Am. Hist. Rev. = *American Historical Review*.

Am. Journ. Archaeol. = *American Journal of Archaeology*, Series II.

Am. Journ. Philol. = *American Journal of Philology*.

Class. Philol. = *Classical Philology*.

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SOME BYZANTINE ACCOUNTING PRACTICES ILLUSTRATED FROM GEORGIAN SOURCES

BY ROBERT P. BLAKE

ONE of the chief differences between the history of Byzantium and that of the western mediaeval world lies in the extreme paucity of charters and private documents originating in the Levant.¹ Documents of the earlier centuries are rare enough in the west, it is true, but from the 11th century onward materials become more abundant, and this richness increases in quasi-geometric progression as we approach the Renaissance. Documents in Byzantium also become more frequent in the later period, but in the final centuries of the Eastern Empire's existence, its economic star had set, and such information as we obtain is devoid of the importance which would have attached to documents issued in its heyday. Any extraneous evidence of economic importance, therefore, which bears on the earlier period of Byzantine history, is of considerable value. It is the object of this paper to call attention to some facts preserved in Georgian sources, which illustrate a few of the effects which the changing pattern of Byzantine economic life imposed upon its citizens. The data preserved, scanty as they are, enable us to observe some minor results of the depreciation which affected Byzantine currency during the 11th century.

The lack of documents in extant Byzantine sources is due to various reasons, a few of which we can briefly touch upon here. The repeated devastations which overtook the Eastern Empire during the thousand years of the empire's existence, were perhaps in the main but little more destructive than those which occurred in many sections of Western Europe. The thread of historical continuity, however, which

¹ Byzantine documents will be included in the Munich corpus of such materials, if this should ever be completed (cf. p. 22, n. 1). A list of the older publications in Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*, 2d ed., pp. 223-4. Among these the most important are Miklosich und Müller, *Acta et Diplomata Graeca*, 6 voll., Vienna, 1860-90, and C. Sathas, *Μνημεία Ἑλληνικῆς Ἱστορίας*, 10 voll., Paris, 1880-90. A considerable body of documents are scattered about in divers periodicals. More recent publications are listed in the bibliographies of the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, the *Vizantiiskii Vremennik* and *Byzantion*.

runs through Western European history down to present times, was broken in the Levant by the two captures of Constantinople in 1204 and in 1453. The Byzantine state was at all periods more centralized than were the kingdoms of the west, where the independent position of the Roman Catholic Church gave a resiliency to the ecclesiastical organization in particular which was wholly lacking in the Balkans or in Asia Minor. The cartularies of western cloisters are numbered by the thousands; in the Levant we count them by tens. The municipal archives of western cities have survived in large measure, but in the east the charters of the provincial and municipal governments have vanished almost without a trace. Lastly, the archives of the imperial government have perished save for a portion of the seals which were attached to them, while in the west the state archives have in the main survived. We know a good deal about the history and the internal structure of the Byzantine government; in certain ways workers in this field are better off than western mediaeval historians, but we lack the data for checking the details of the administration, central and local, which our western sources provide.

Byzantine historians, it is true, continually refer to documents of an official nature, and in some instances give us synopses of them, but any quotation of them *in extenso* and *ad verbum* was barred by the canons of literary custom. This material has been collected from the sources by Dölger and published in the first three fascicules of his *Regesten der byzantinischen Kaiserurkunden* up to 1282.¹ All these documents, however, have to do with the activities of the central government, and give us no insight into everyday life — especially in its economic aspects.

Constantinople, during the early middle ages, was one of the most famous marts of the world. From all over the civilized globe merchants streamed to the city; every kind of product and ware could be obtained here.² Economically speaking, the city was an entrepôt: the

¹ *Corpus der griechischen Urkunden des Mittelalters und der neueren Zeit*, herausgegeben von den Akademien der Wissenschaften in München und Wien. Reihe A: Regesten. Abteilung 1: Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches, bearbeitet von Franz Dölger, 1 Teil: Regesten von 565–1025; 2 Teil: Regesten von 1025–1204; 3 Teil: Regesten von 1205–1282. München und Berlin, 1924–32.

² The fullest list of these products which we possess is contained in the tractate of

majority of the raw products which were displayed in the bazars originated in territories outside the empire, and many of the articles there manufactured were dependent on extraneous materials. The commercial dominance of Byzantium in the Eastern Mediterranean was accordingly not due to her own natural resources, nor to the initiative of her merchants, but to her unrivalled geographical position and to the inherent soundness of the empire's economic structure. The Byzantine state, economically speaking, was passive, but the commercial balance was in its favor; this fortunate conjuncture was brought about and maintained by the Byzantine system of currency, whose influence was felt throughout the Mediterranean, and over large parts of Europe and Asia.

The most striking testimony as to the commercial dominance of the empire is afforded by the use of the νόμισμα (aureus or bezant) as *monnaie de compte* over a large part of the Mediterranean basin.¹ This hegemony was aided and abetted by the fact that the Mahometan dinars were coined upon the same standard, and, it would appear, passed current interchangeably in many areas. From Anastasius I until the middle of the 11th century the bezant remained unchanged in purity and weight,² while its Mahometan counterparts, coined as

Fr. Balducci Pegolotti, *Pratica della Mercatura* (ca. 1342), pp. 33-40 (ed. Allan Evans, Cambridge, 1936). A cursory perusal of the material herein contained shows that in the main it is of foreign origin.

¹ H. Gelzer, *Byzantinische Kulturgeschichte* (Tübingen, 1909), p. 78, quoted by J. B. Bury, *The Eastern Roman Empire* (Cambridge, 1912), p. 221. "In the period of 800 years from Diocletian to Alexis Comnenus the Roman government never found itself compelled to declare bankruptcy or stop payments. . . . This prodigious stability of Roman financial policy therefore secured the "byzant" its universal currency. On account of its full weight it passed with all the neighboring nations as a valid medium of exchange. By her money Byzantium controlled both the civilized and the barbarian worlds." See also the materials collected by A. Schaube, *Handelsgeschichte der romanischen Völker des Mittelmeergebiets bis zum Ende der Kreuzzüge* (München und Berlin, 1906), p. 3 ff.

² Certain chroniclers accuse Nicephorus Phocas of having lessened the weight of the bezant along with sundry other financial sins (Cedrenus ed. Bonn, v. 2, p. 369; Zonaras ed. Bonn, v. 3, p. 507). Wroth doubts this (*Catalogue of the Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum*, vol. I (London, 1908), Introduction, p. 1) as the extant coins show no trace of such oscillation. It is to be observed, however, that from 1028 on there were two distinct types of bezant struck at Constantinople,

time went on in widely separated areas, underwent perceptible fluctuations. Only in the 11th century, when the *conflit funeste* between the military and the civil bureaucracy became acute and envenomed,¹ was the standard of the currency changed for the worse.

It is not the author's intention to discuss in this paper either the causes of this change or the devastating effects of the depreciation, but merely to illustrate one phase of the latter from certain documents, which hitherto have not been utilized for the purpose. Any change in the value of an accounting unit invalidates its main purpose — to state in fixed terms of value (based either on precious metal content or purchasing power) the *montant* of sums of other currency or of goods purchased or sold during business transactions. Once the unit varies, it becomes useless as a standard, except perchance it be transmuted into a putative, *als ob* quantity. Within the political area where it had official course, its oscillations in value must of necessity be registered by booking or posting separately its different types and values. The days of doubloons and moidores, of old gold mohurs, of Spanish, Maria Theresa, and trade dollars are not far removed from our own experience. Traces of such practices in the eastern empire can be gleaned in some cases from late Byzantine documents and from early Italian sources, but local evidence from the 11th and 12th centuries is scanty in the extreme.

The documents we deal with concern benefactions bestowed during the 11th and 12th centuries upon the Imperial Lavra of Iviron on Mount Athos.² This cloister was founded by the Georgian ascete St.

which differed both in form (one being scyphate) and in weight (62 and 68 grains). We may have in this statement an anachronistic transfer of later conditions back upon Nicephorus Phocas.

¹ On this see G. L. Schlumberger, *L'épopée byzantine à la fin du x^e siècle*, vol. III (Paris, 1896), pp. 385–830, and for the period after 1057, the old but excellent book of N. A. Skabalanovich, *Византийское Государство и Церковь въ XI вѣкѣ отъ смерти Басилія II Болгаробойца до воцаренія Алексѣя I Комнина*. С. Петербургъ 1884 г.

² The only separate monograph on the history of the cloister is that of A. Натроевъ, *Иверскій Монастырь на Аѳонѣ, Тифлисъ 1898 г.* which is not accessible to me here. The general books on Athos (Gedeon, Smyrnakis, Brockhaus, Porphyrii Uspenskii) touch somewhat on the affairs of Iviron. Much information is given by P. Peeters in his *Histoires monastiques géorgiennes* (see below, p. 20, n. 2) in his notes on the translations of the lives of St. Euthymius and of St. George.

John the Athonite somewhere around the year 981. This dignitary was a Georgian of good lineage and influential connections, who withdrew to monastic life after having been married and having raised a family. His family name is not quite certain, but was probably Khursisdze.¹ He first entered the monastery of the Four Churches somewhere in the Caucasus, whose exact location is uncertain.² Thence he came to Byzantine territory, and for a time resided on Mt. Olympus in Bithynia, near Brussa. His youngest son, Euthymius, had meantime been sent to Constantinople as a hostage, and his father succeeded in obtaining possession of the boy through the intercession of one of his relations, Abu Harb, who had much influence with the imperial court. Somewhere around the year 975, John moved to the new monastic center at Mt. Athos. Euthymius followed him not long after (ca. 979), and ere long father and son were joined by their relative, the famous general Ivané T'ornik. Others of their countrymen followed, and the plan was soon set on foot, with the approval of Saint Athanasius, of founding a new monastery. It had been the original intention of the founders to have only Georgians in the cloister, but this restriction proved not to be practical, and from the beginning Greek brethren were also admitted.

T'ornik had been a famous general, and his monastic career was interrupted by an enforced interlude of military activity, when he was largely responsible for crushing the revolt of Bardas Skleros against the imperial authority.³ He was a wealthy seigneur in his own right,⁴ and the largesses of his imperial masters at the termination of his successful expedition made his financial status all the more flourishing.⁵ Whether John himself had retained control over any of his own

¹ *Journal of Theological Studies* 26 (1924), pp. 54-57: the biographical data are drawn from the life (tr. Peeters, *l. c.*, pp. 16-18).

² From a note of Père Peeters (*Anal. Boll.* L, 1932, 370, note 5) it appears that this cloister has been located by E. T'aqaišvili in the T'ort'um valley.

³ On the details see Schlumberger *Épopée l. c.*; *Vita S. Euthymii*, tr. Peeters, pp. 20. 1-22. 20.

⁴ The family estates were located near Zarzma in southern Georgia (see E. S. T'aqaišvili in *Сборникъ Матеріаловъ для описанія мѣстностей и племенъ Кавказа*, XXXV (1905), pp. 1-80), where the church contains some inscriptions by members of the family.

⁵ *Vita Euthymii*, tr. Peeters, p. 22. 10 ff., 23. 19-24 (see below, p. 20, n. 2). T'ornik

property does not appear directly: it would seem that his resources were in large measure derived from T'ornik, who had turned his property over to John.¹

In any event T'ornik and John between them provided the funds necessary for the construction of the monastery.² The Georgians had originally been located in the monastery of St. John the Evangelist: this is probably an error in our source for St. John the Baptist — i.e., the Σκήτη τοῦ Προδρόμου.³ T'ornik on his return from the campaign against Skleros, brought back great riches — 1200 pounds of treasure alone (\$297,464), and many other precious objects.⁴ These funds were obviously used to construct the cloister — ἡ βασιλικὴ Λαύρα τῶν Ἱβήρων. George the Athonite tells us that he drew these figures from the papers of St. Euthymius,⁵ and no doubt the other donations of money and precious objects which George mentions come from the same source. I summarize here such of them as involve actual sums of money:

(1) Assignment to the Lavra of a pension of 84 nomismata per annum, granted to T'ornik by the emperor John Tzimiskes.

(2) Gift of the island of Neos, whereof the yearly income oscillated between 10 and 20 lbs. of gold.

(3) To the Protatou for general distribution in 980, 14 lbs.; in 983, 11 lbs.: and in 984, after T'ornik's death, 18 lbs.

(4) Houses and vineyard at Ἱερισσός, whose income was calculated at 6 lbs. of gold per annum. Euthymius gave likewise 200 nomismata to the Protatou.

had retired to a monastery in the Caucasus, possibly to Oška. Here at all events he had copied for himself two important manuscripts, which are still preserved at Ivron (nos. 1 and 9: see *ROChr* XXVIII 302–305 and *Harvard Theological Review* 1929, 33 ff.), and at least one other, as the memorial found by the writer and Professor K. Lake in ms. no. 62 Vladimir of the former Synodal library at Moscow shows (published by P. Peeters in *Analecta Bollandiana* L (1932), pp. 358–71 under the title *Un colophon géorgien de Thornik le moine*). To have had these mss. copied must have cost a large sum.

¹ This is specifically stated in the *Vita*, p. 23. 24–30: note also the gentleness with which John rebukes T'ornik because of his yearning for tales of battle (*l. c.*, p. 24. 12–35).

² *Vita*, p. 23. 19–24, 24. 39 ff.

³ *Vita*, p. 19, note 4.

⁴ *Vita*, p. 23. 20–21 and 25. 4–28. 2.

⁵ *Vita*, 27. 13–14.

It should be noted that none of these benefactions are referred to *nominatim* in the memorials which we are about to describe, but only *summamim*.¹

A fortunate chance has preserved for us in a Georgian ms. written on Mt. Athos a list of the benefactors of Iviron, comprising also in many instances a summary account of their benefactions. The notices or memorials themselves, with but one or two exceptions, contain no date. The earlier series of them refer to events antedating the year 1074 A.D., when the main body of the ms. was written; the bulk of the remainder, written by the hand of a second scribe, falls before the year 1116 A.D.; sundry additions were made to both parts of the list later on, either on the margin or at the end. The notices contain first of all the details of the liturgical commemoration prescribed for the departed,² but in many cases the scribe mentions the specific benefactions of the deceased to the monastery. In some instances these were not financial, but took the form of intervention before highly-placed officials from the emperors down; in other cases actual gifts are mentioned.

This type of ms. is termed in Georgian სჯნოდოგო, from the Greek συνοδικόν. The first use of the expression with which I am familiar is as a title of one of the works of St. Athanasius of Alexandria.³ Its implication seems to be that of a corpus or collection dealing with a

¹ Memorials nos. 1, 71, 83.

² Part of this consists not infrequently of one or more კრახვულო კერასობლიონ, in addition to the strictly liturgical prescriptions: see nos. 1, 34, 38, etc.

³ The term συνοδικόν is cited as the name of a work of St. Athanasius of Alexandria in the *Church History* of Socrates Scholasticus (1. 13). The Greek original is not extant, and a considerable literature has grown up about this passage. Fr. Geppert (*Die Quellen des Kirchenhistorikers Socrates Scholasticus*, Leipzig, 1898) endeavored to reconstruct it, and the process was carried out further by P. Battifol (*Byz. Zs.* X (1901), pp. 128 ff.) who endeavored to identify it with the collection of Theophilus the Deacon in the Verona ms. and by G. Loeschke (*Rh. Mus.* N. F. LIX (1904), pp. 451-70, who equated it with a σύνταγμα of documents preserved in the corpus mss. of Athanasius. Ed. Schwartz (*Nachr. GGW*, ph.-hist. Kl. 1904, pp. 357-401) disagrees with Battifol, and adduces certain catena quotations of the document from a Florentine ms. Bardenhewer (*Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* III, pp. 62-3) agrees with Schwartz; he points out (*l. c.* 70, note 1) that the expression συνοδικόν is employed by Gregory Nazianzen (*Ep.* 101 *ad Cledonium*, Migne, *P. G.* 37. 177) ἡ διὰ τόμου συνοδικοῦ ἢ δι' ἐπιστολῶν κοινωνικῶν. This passage shows that the term was current in the fourth century.

definite affair, like the Russian *сводъ*. I am not familiar with any *terminus technicus* from the Latin mediaeval world which affords a precise equivalent. Such *synodikà* arose out of a natural need in monastic existence. Over a long period a cloister, especially if located at a place frequented by pilgrims, would receive a series of gifts and benefactions. The idea of a guest-book apparently never occurred to the Georgians nor to the Greeks either, but in its stead a notice was inserted at a suitable point in a manuscript, often liturgical in character, or sometimes in one given by the donor. If the amount of the gift were large and accompanied by documents and charters, such a brief notation might not necessarily be made.¹

In the majority of cases the donation was made in conjunction with a specific request that the donor, and oftentimes certain members of his family,² be mentioned by name once or more³ a year during the services. This often took place on the giver's saint's day,⁴ but sometimes another occasion was chosen. This commemoration was called in Georgian *ღაპი აგაპი*⁵ from the Greek *ἀγάπη*. In certain cases this commemoration might involve a special service. To keep these in mind a collection of such indications needed to be made, and some extant Georgian materials illustrate how this came about. Either a list was drawn up and attached to a specific ms., or else the data were entered as they came in on a specific ms. The *synodikon* of Iviron exemplifies the first procedure, and that of the monastery of the Holy Cross near Jerusalem, the second.⁶ Card-indexes and files did not enter

¹ This circumstance perhaps explains why we have no details given in our ms. in the memorials of T'ornik, John and Euthymius (see above, p. 17, n. 1).

² Cf. nos. 76, 77, 150, etc.

³ Cf. nos. 9 and 141; 3 and 25; 56, 73 and 96; 24 and 55, etc.

⁴ All those who have had experience of orthodox countries are aware of the great importance of this festival for everyone, no matter what his social position.

⁵ The word was borrowed during the Byzantine period, as the mediaeval and modern Greek pronunciation of *γ* as a velar before a hard vowel is reflected in the Georgian transcription *ღ gh*.

⁶ This interesting document is preserved on the margins of mss. Georg. 24 and 25 of the Greek Patriarchal Library at Jerusalem (*ROChr* XXIII 406-7), which contain the synaxary of St. George the Athonite. The memorials have been published by N. Marr, *Bibliotheca Armeno-Georgica* III (1914): *Синодикъ Крестнаго Монастыря въ Иерусалимѣ*.

The Sinai *συνοδικόν* (A. A. Цагарели, *Свѣдѣнія* etc., II, pp. 76-79 in ms. no.

into monastic recording practices during the middle ages, and systematization was by no means carried too far.¹ Thanks, however, to the activities of two Athonite monks, we are in a position to glean a considerable amount of valuable information on the pilgrims who visited, or corresponded with, the monastery, and the extent to which they enriched the foundation by their donations, either proffered in person or dispatched thither from abroad.

In the year 1074 Mik'el Daγalisoneli, a Georgian monk at the Laura of Iviron on Mt. Athos, wrote a manuscript at the behest of the δεκανός (archpriest) Iakob, who paid for the parchment.² This was at the time when Giorgi Olt'isari was higumen, and this period, as we can see from the colophons of the Georgian mss. preserved in the library, marks a recrudescence of Georgian, as opposed to Greek influence in the monastery.³

The ms. contains the following productions:

(1) Life of St. Euthymius the Athonite, written by St. George the Athonite, ff. 2v-65r.

(2) Life of St. Ilarion the Georgian, ff. 65r-83r.

(3) Translation of his relics, ff. 83r-88v.

(4) Memorial service for St. Euthymius (May 13), ff. 88v-89r.

(5) Acta Iohannis apostoli a Prochoro scripta, translated into Georgian by St. Euthymius, ff. 89v-159r.

(6) Colophon of scribe, pp. 308-311 (p. 312 is partly blank: in this space a modern colophon has been written: cf. ed. p. 176).

(7) Chants (*dasdebulni*) in honor of St. Ilarion, pp. 312-324.

54 (now 77)) is a late copy of a brief list, much like a similar document at Jerusalem, of which a fragment was published by Marr (*l. c.*, pp. xxv-xxviii).

¹ Both Mik'el and Ioané endeavored to follow a chronological arrangement in accordance with the ecclesiastical year, but neither was able to carry out the scheme fully.

² Pp. 308-11 of ms. The name of the scribe is Daγalisoneli, not Galisoneli, as Peeters (after Zhordania) gives it.

³ See the colophon of ms. 30 (*ROChr* XXIX 148-150): Olt'isari is an adjective of locality signifying from Olt'i (in Adjara). It is not a common type of formation in Georgian, but we can compare the form მტებვარი *mtbevari* from Tbet' in Šavšet'ia, an epithet applied to bishop Ivané in the colophons of the Tbet' Gospels (Цагарели, Свѣдѣнія Выпускъ I, pp. 17-22; to be republished in the writer's edition of the Gospel of John in the *Patrologia Orientalis*) and to the scribe Aquila in ms. geor. no. 28 at Iviron (*ROChr* XXIX 143-147).

(8) Chants in honor of St. John the Georgian, the father of St. Euthymius, pp. 324-351.

(9) Other chants for the same saint, pp. 352-364.

(10) *Agaphni* of the Laura: these are in part by the hand of the basic scribe, in part by others; we shall return to them below. At the end there are some late memorials on the fly-leaf. Pp. 364-425.

The ms. remained at Iviron until the first part of the 19th century, when the Georgian monk Ilarion,¹ who had been the confessor of the last Georgian king of Imeret'ia, Solomon II (d. 1815 at Trebizond), abstracted it and sent it to the Caucasus. Here it fell into the hands of the Dadiani family, and thence passed to the Ecclesiastical Museum at Tiflis.

In 1901 the codex was published *in toto* at Tiflis by M. G. Djanashvili and A. S. Khakhanashvili under the title *A Manuscript of Athonite Iviron of the year 1074 with Memorials*, and a description of it appeared as no. 558 in the following year in the catalogue of the Museum's collection of mss. compiled by Th. Zhordania.² Appended to the text of the ms. proper in the edition is the life of St. George the Athonite from ms. 170 of the Ecclesiastical Museum.³ Though the edition can hardly be called critical, it gives a reasonably good presentation of the text. Its most regrettable drawback lies in the inadequate palaeographical description given of the memorials. This I am in a position to supplement to some extent by observations made on the ms. at Tiflis in 1918.

The order of the memorials in the manuscript is as follows: the first scribe of the manuscript, Mik'el Dayalisoneli, wrote those numbered 1, 11-13, 15-20, 23-26, 31, 33-35, 37, 45-7. Mik'el's entries follow in

¹ On Ilarion see V. Langlois, *Jour. As.*, Sér. VI, t. IX (1867), pp. 335-7, and *ROChr* XXVIII 297. The ms. was actually brought to the Caucasus by the monk V. Barkalaia (Venedikton? Cf. *ROChr*, l. c.).

² О. Жорданія, Описаніе рукописей Тифлискаго церковнаго музея картаино-кахетинскаго духовенства II (Тифлисъ 1902 г.), pp. 85-86. The editors had designated the ms. as no. 529 of the monastery of Iviron. On the identification see Paul Peeters, *Histoires monastiques géorgiennes* (extr. of *Anal. Boll.* T. XXXVI-XXXVII). The learned author here gives an annotated Latin translation of the lives of St. John and Euthymius (pp. 8-68). He had published the life of St. Ilarion earlier (*Anal. Boll.* XXXII, pp. 243-69).

³ Жорданія, l. c. *supra*, v. I (1903), pp. 178-80.

rough chronological order, with the exception of no. 1, the commemoration of T'ornik (Dec. 15), and begin with the first of December; the date is interesting, as it would lead us to infer that Mik'el was not basing his collection on any notes in a liturgical manuscript, which would have begun, as is customary in orthodox circles, with September 1. The memorials run, save for later insertions, to the end of January. The chronological order of Mik'el's own notations show some slight aberrations, which leads us to infer that he had come across new materials in the course of his researches, and furthermore that he did not finish his task. Iované T'ablaysdze took up where his predecessor left off, and continued in chronological order down to the end of November (no. 139 — Nov. 30). Iované tells us that he brought the list up to date at the request of John, the higumen of the monastery.¹ Without having checked exhaustively the chronology of the persons Iované mentions, it would seem that the majority of these notices refer to the period between 1074 and 1116, though a few seem to hark back to an earlier time. As in the case of Mik'el's section, a number of memorials have been added to Iované's list by different hands, some on the margins and others on leaves specially inserted. In the ensuing discussion we shall denote the main scribes as (M. D.) and (Io. T'.) respectively.

After this come a series of later inserts, in part on added leaves, dating perhaps from the time of Abbot Pavlé (No. 165 = 1170), preceding the actual colophon of Iované (No. 166). No. 162 (a. 1498) in particular is inserted on a sheet of white parchment with gold initials of the Meskhian type.

Before we take up the details given in these memorials, it seems prudent to review the evidence which is afforded by imperial documents concerning the manner in which large sums are stated: the data are conveniently assembled by Dölger.² Two systems are employed in the main: the figures are given either in nomismata or else in pounds of gold. It must also be borne in mind in this connection that in most instances we do not have the text of the document itself, but at best a summary of it. In some cases, therefore, it may well be that the author

¹ No. 166 (pp. 273-4).

² Title cited above, p. 12, note 1.

has recalculated the sum in a manner different from that which stood in the original.

Payments of tribute in the main form the largest single category of considerable sums. These are calculated almost without exception in nomismata or in dinars.¹ Annuities and pensions are generally specified in monetary form,² but fines and especially bequests are usually given by weight. It may easily be in the case of some bequests that the sum was merely an *adaeratio* reckoned from other goods and species.

In the 11th century the diversity of units becomes much more definitely marked: under Alexius Comnenus we have two instances where a definite type of coin is specified — a payment to Bohemund in *Michailati* and one to Henry IV, Emperor of Germany, in silver coins.³

The basic designations of coins employed in the memorials are few in number: in fact, if we make an exception for one dated 15th century memorial (no. 164), there are only two. These are *drahkani* and *perperay* (or *perperati*). The remainder of the expressions encountered

¹ In the following list we give Dölger's number within parentheses; unbracketed figures denote the date: (31) Tribute paid to the Persians, 45,000 nomismata — 574; (64) tribute 50,000 nomismata — 582; (131) 20,000 nomismata additional on the Avar tribute — 600; (171) 20,000 nomismata as tribute to the Avars — 617; (220) 12,000,000 dinars in tribute to the Arabs from Egypt — 641; (230) Arabs pay empire tribute of 1000 dinars a day, one horse and one Christian slave — 659; (239) Arabs pay tribute (amount uncertain) in same form as previous item — 678; (253) tribute from Arabs 365,000 dinars — 685; (257) tribute from Arabs of 1000 dinars per day (or week) — 688; (340) tribute to Arabs paid in nomismata — 781; (366) tribute to Arabs 30,000 nomismata — 806; (603) tribute to Fatimids 11,000 nomismata — 924; (644) Arabs turn over to the empire 200 captives and 12,000 pieces of silver — 944.

² Annuities and pensions: (118) 30 lbs. of gold to pope for alms — 595; (300) income of papal estates in the Eastern Empire amounting to 3½ talents of gold confiscated to the imperial treasury — 731; (704) *σολέμνιον* to Laura of St. Athanasius 244 nomismata annually — ca. 964. Fines: (33) imperial novella: 10 lbs. of gold — 574; (237) 100 lbs. of gold — 677.

³ Anna Comnena 13. 12 (ed. Rifferscheid 2. 220, ll. 8–10) a pension of 200 talents (here = probably lbs.) of gold granted to Bohemund to be paid in coinage of the emperor Michael; *eiusdem* 3. 10 (ed. Rifferscheid 1. 121, ll. 23–25) 144,000 bezants to be paid in silver and Romanati (a. 1081) *καὶ τὸ ῥηθὲν ποσὸν τῶν ἀποσταλέντων ἀπεπληρώθη διὰ τε εἰργασμένου ἀργύρου καὶ Ῥωμανάτου παλαιᾶς ποιότητος*. In Miss Dawes' translation (London, 1928), p. 92, the sense of the passage is entirely distorted. See F. Chalandon, *Essai sur le règne d'Alexis 1^{er} Comnène* (Paris, 1900), p. 248.

are descriptive adjectives of various types, which differentiate the varieties and types of the two main species of coins.

The word დრახანი *drahkani* is employed in Georgian sources of the 11th century to designate the $\nu\acute{o}\mu\sigma\mu\alpha$ or bezant. The expression is presumably connected with the Armenian դահեկան *dahekan*¹ (= n. pers. *dahgān*), and philologically speaking is the archetype of the Arabic دينار *dinār*. At a later period, when gold coins had been largely replaced by silver currency in the Near East, the term came to be used of a piece of silver:² we have here a parallel to the semasiology of the term florin in the west. Inasmuch, however, as the later memorials in our manuscript employ the term *perperay*, which, as we shall see, denotes a gold coin, even though debased, we can rest assured that in passages where the *drahkani* is mentioned, we are dealing with the bezant.

The term *drahkani* appears in some eighteen instances in our texts without any specific attribute attached to it.³ The majority of these were written by Io. Tablaysiaze. It is possible that the writer in some

¹ See H. Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, I, p. 133, no. 158. Whence the -r- in the Georgian form comes is a question. The development $d\}or\}r$ is not infrequent in Armenian (cf. հրեայ *hrey* Jew from the Syriac ܝܚܝܐ *yahū-dāyā*), but not in Anlaut. One would suspect hybridization with $\delta\rho\alpha\chi\mu\acute{\eta}$.

² So, for example, in Armenian Cilicia, where the *tahegan* (*dahekan* in the pronunciation of the local dialect, where surds and media both shift) is a silver coin. See V. Langlois, *Numismatique de l'Arménie au moyen âge* (Paris, 1855), pp. 10-11; and Pegolotti, ed. Evans, p. 59.

³ 11 (M.D.) Sabay and his brother Ioané Muhvc'ay — 100 drahkani; 34 (M.D.) Liparit gave to the church of the Virgin 100 drahkani and 76 more to the brethren (one apiece? — the phrase is not clear): 38 (Io.T') Grigol and Abaz Bakurianisdze — 200 drahkani each; 54 (Io.T') Arshiani — 150 drahkani; 62 (Io.T') brother Dzneli — 100 drahkani; 66 (Io.T') Ioané Kapanay — 100 drahkani protokharati; 70 (Io.T') brother Basil — 20 drahkani; 76 (Io.T') Symeon Eladay and his son Giorgi — property valued at one lb. of new drahkani; 77 (Io.T') Giorgi Dedop'leuri and his father Iované — 4 lbs. of drahkani; 78 (Io.T') brother Jerasime, 100 drahkani protokharagi; 84 (Io.T') T'eop'ane, the higumen of Petrici . . . another 100 drahkani; 86 (Io.T') Raysel and Varoz — 100 new drahkani; 102 (s. xii-xiii) Milaray and his brother K'obul . . . and also 50 drahkani; 103 (s. xvi-xvii) Mariame . . . also 200 drahkani; 112 (Io.T') P'antine of St. Basil . . . and 200 drahkani; 114 (Io.T') Op'idop'ay ('Οφιδόφιος ?) — 246 drahkani; 118 Davit' the merchant — 105 drahkani; 125 (Io.T') brother Giorgi — velvets estimated at 100 drahkani protokharagi; 126 (Io.T') Kyriaké, Dimitri and Bart'lomé — 4 litrai of drahkani; 143 (s. xii) Ioané Kajakhisdze — 120 drahkani; 145 (not Io.T'..

cases may be giving a round figure. In two instances the word ძუელი *dzueli* "old" is added.¹

The პერპერაი *perperay* is the Georgian form of the Greek ὑπέρπερον, which was a gold coin introduced by Alexis Comnenus.² The expression appears in some cases in our text with a suffix — *perperati*, evidently by analogy with other coin appellations derived from imperial names.³ Under the Comnenian dynasty this coin became the dominant monetary unit. In some instances we find the term *drahkani* added to *perperay*. We can therefore infer that the memorials which contain this designation date from the period after 1083, when Alexis apparently issued the coin for the first time. It is abundantly clear from the specimens which survive and also from literary sources, that more than one species of the hyperperon was issued by Alexis,⁴ but the data in the ms. are not sufficiently precise to enable us to distin-

s. xii) Grigol and Ioané K'obulisdze . . . more than 1800 (89) *drahkani*; 153 (s. xii-xiii) Queen T'amara — two altar cloths each worth 20 *drahkani*.

¹ 134 (s. xii-xiii) Mik'el Laklak and Giorgi P'oč'olikay — 120 old *drahkani*; 138 (s. xii-xiii) father Ivane Kalakalay — 120 old *drahkani*. It is to be observed that these are relatively late memorials.

² The form *perpero* is also found in our Italian sources. 14 (s. xii-xiii) father Ioané Banc'uay — 15 *perperay*; 22 Mik'el, erstwhile father — 32 *perperay*; 33 (M.D.) Mik'el Kananakhi the priest — 30 *perperay*; 32 (s. xii-xiii) Petré the priest — 10 *perperay*; 39 (Io.T') Grigol and Ioané K'obulisdze — 900 *perperay*; 57 (Io.T') At'anasé gave *drahkani perperay* (no amount indicated!); 69 (Io.T') Meleti gave the monastery 20 *perperay*; 109 (Io.T') Baay Manoel by bequest 20 *perperay*; 144 (s. xii: ca. 1170 in time of abbot Pavlé) Nikolozi, preceptor of Symeon Čqondideli — in addition to many repairs to the monastery he also gave 24 *perperay*, a *mutruki* (მუტრუკი: an asses colt) bought for 15 *perperay*, and a yoke of oxen worth 7 *perperay*; 146 (s. xii) Ok'ropiri Kharaz — 1000 *perperay*; 150 (s. xii-xiii) Vardan Kostandisdze — 401 *perperay*; 148 (s. xii-xiii) Arseni Mardezisdze, khan babur of Tiflis — 38 *perperay*; 149 (s. xii) Abulasan of K'ut'ais — 40 *perperay*. This last group are all by one hand; 158 abbot Pavlé (ca. 1178) — 40 *perperay*; 160 (same hand as 158) Abulasanidze Ok'ropiri — 60 *perperay*.

³ 45 (M.D.?) T'evdosi of Salonika, erstwhile dux (*duk?*) — 100 *perperati*; 122 (s. xii) Davit' the Syrian — 40 *perperati*; 124 (s. xiv-xv) Jerasimé and Ivané the priest — 20 *perperati* each; 128 (xii-xiii) Ivané P'op'khaysdze — 120 *drahkani perperati*; 135 (Io.T') Giorgi of Juaris C'ikhé — 50 *perperati*; 141 (s. xii) Nikola of Petrici — 70 *perperati*.

⁴ See Wroth, *l. c.*, Introduction p. lxii, and Zonaras 18. 22: cf. also F. Chalandon, *Alexis Comnène*, pp. 304 ff.

guish between them, nor to equate them with the known types. The memorials mentioning perperati seem to be posterior in date.

One further expression we meet with in the codex is not a coin name, as Khakhanashvili thought.¹ სოღემნი *solimni* is certainly the late Greek *σολέμνιον* (lat. *solemnium*).² Precisely the same phrase is used in both places, and in both instances it refers to the same action of two crowned heads — of Constantine Monomachos (1042–54), and of King Bagrat IV of Abkhazia (1027–72). The scribe says: *šegük'mna solimni* “he established³ for us a *solimni*”: the following phrase refers to the abolition of the დომობო *dimosi*, which can only mean the tax τὸ δημόσιον.⁴ Du Cange defines *σολέμνιον*⁵ as a payment made to a monastery by an emperor on condition that masses be sung in his behalf henceforward by the cloister: see Suidas s.v. *σολέμνιον* ἢ παρὰ βασιλέως ἀναφαίρετος δωρεὰ διδομένη ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις; and *Glossae Basilicanae*: τὰ ὑπὸ βασιλέως ἐν ἐκκλησίαις διδόμενα χάριν μνήμης.

The term is equated in Justinian. *Nov.* 128⁶ with *σαλάρια*, and reappears in the legal documents of the Macedonian period. “*Salaria*” appears to have borne in Byzantine times the more general signification of gift. The occasion to which the memorials refer is described in the life of St. George the Athonite (c. 30–32, tr. Peeters, pp. 100–102).

A series of adjectives are also coupled with the two main expressions which are derived from the names of emperors.

Those which are mentioned with *drahkani* are:

(1) დუკატო *dukati* = Δουκάτης⁷

¹ Introduction, p. vi.

² Nos. 15, 100.

³ შექმნა in Georgian — *create* as opposed to ქმნა *facere*.

⁴ On this tax see J. B. Bury, *The Eastern Roman Empire*, p. 212 f.

⁵ *Glossarium ad scriptores Graecos*, t. II, col. 1405–6.

⁶ Ed. Zachariä von Lingenthal, II, p. 282: *σολεμνίους ἢ σαλαρίους* (no. CLII).

⁷ 4 (Io.T.) Arseni Qivč'aki — 20 *drahkani dukati*; 7 Ap'enilé, the mother of Makharebeli — 20 *dukati*: the date of this memorial is uncertain: “when Kondostep'ane (Κοντοστέφανος) took away our villages at Constantinople”; 137 (s. xii) Arseni the monk — 32 *drahkani dukati*; 141 (s. xiii) Nikola of Petrici — 42 *dukati* for grain; 153 (s. xii–xiii) Queen T'amara (1174–1215) — 20 *dukati*.

The material on this term is distinctly indefinite. In all instances we must rule out the Venetian ducat, whose coinage commenced in 1283 only. Even if no. 7 does belong to the period of the Latin Empire (it may refer to the admiral Kon-

- (2) ჰრომანატი *hromanati* = 'Ρωμανάτης¹
 (3) დუკამიხაილატი = Δουκαμικηλάτης²
 (4) ვოტონიოტი = Βοτονειάτης³

These four terms refer, it would seem, to the four emperors who immediately preceded Alexis Comnenus, namely, Constantine X Ducas (1059-67): Romanus IV Diogenes (1067-71); Michael VII Ducas (1071-78), and Nicephorus Botoneiates (1078-81). The depreciation of the bezant would thus appear to have started under Constantine Ducas, or in any case to have then become sufficiently marked to bring about oscillations in its purchasing power. Wroth notes definite debasement, first of all, under Nicephorus Botoneiates,⁴ whose coins show a wide variation on weight and many of them a considerable proportion of base alloy, but we have, so far as I know, no systematic series of analyses of the coinage of this period, and it may well be that debasement actually occurred earlier. If my memory serves me correctly, these four varieties are especially listed by Di Pasi (in the 1545 edition).⁵ The Georgian materials show that this was also the case in

dostephanos, cf. Anna Comnena, *Alexias* 12, 8 ff. (ca. 1106)), Venetian coins cannot come into the picture. The term must refer to one of the emperors of the house of Ducas: these can only be Michael VIII or Constantine X. Inasmuch as Michael's coins are termed *dukad-mikaylati* in our memorials, the reference can only be to Constantine. I am inclined to think that full-weight or high-value bezants are here implied. Gold currency remains long in circulation, and its availability at a later epoch should not surprise us.

¹ One reference occurs: 51 (Io.T'.) T'evdoré the Syrian — 100 drahkani hrom-nati.

² 43 (Io.T'.) father Ioané Buk'aysdze — 24 dukad-mikhaylati; 44 (another hand) the ancient Giorgi Jubieli — 50 drahkani dukad-mikhailati; 97 (s. xii) Giorgi Koshkinay — 20 dukad-mikhaylati (დოკად-სიკ — *dokad-sic*).

³ 30 (s. xii-xiii) brothers Ioané and Mik'el — 1 lb. of drahkani votaniati; 159 (s. xii) Anasuilé and her son Iaghi — 100 drahkani botanioti.

⁴ Wroth, *l. c.*, p. lxii.

⁵ The handbook of the Venetian Bartolomeo di Pasi went through a number of editions (cf. W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce au Levant au moyen âge* (Leipsic, 1883), vol. I, p. xix). In the Harvard College Library are those of 1503 and 1542, but no data on coins appears to be included in them. I recall, however, extracting sundry bits of information from a later edition (I believe it was the one mentioned in the text), when I was a student at Petrograd.

Byzantium during the 11th century, and likewise afford us a *terminus ante quem non* for those particular memorials.

Some interesting comparative materials are afforded by tenth and eleventh century South Italian documents, to which the writer's attention has been called by Dr. Allan Evans. From the materials in the *Codice Diplomatico Barese*, we can infer that in South Italy the older full-value nomisma was called *constantino*. As this appellation is attached to the coin in a document of the year 957 (*ibid.*, p. 5), the name must refer in South Italy to Constantine IX Porphyrogennetos. We have a series of references to these coins during the 11th century down to 1074. In some instances descriptive adjectives are attached to them: in addition to being *boni* and *veteres*, they are called *sotirichi* (i.e., with the figure of the Σωτήρ), *thoriati* (*thoricati* from θώραξ?), and *olotrachi*, which seems to be a hybrid form from Greek ὄλος and Latin *-trahus*. The scyphate form of coin is also mentioned.

The *miliarensis* also occurs in these documents, which coin does not figure in our Athonite materials.

The second name which appears in Apulian documents is the *romanato* (1036 — twice; 1039 — *romanati maiores*; 1117). In the first three instances the reference must be to Romanus III Argyrus (1028–34), but the last instance can only refer to Romanus IV Diogenes (1067–71). As Romanus III's coins are of full weight, the recorder apparently wished to show that the coins were new.

Finally *micheelati* are mentioned (1099, 1110, 1117, 1126). The dates show that the coins must be those of Michael Ducas (1071–1079).

The coin lists in Pegolotti, Giovanni da Uzzano and some unpublished ones which Dr. Evans expects to edit, do not register any regnal appellations, but mention only *perperi* and *bisanti* of various types, frequently described in some detail, but dating, it would appear, from a period distinctly later than that which concerns us here.

The only regnal epithet coupled with the hyperperon is ალექსანდრი¹ *alek'sati*, which obviously refers to Alexius Comnenus (1081–1118), and this confirms the fact that the memorials written by Iované T'ablaysdze date from before 1116.

¹ 42 (Io.T'.) Ivané Sisikoneli and his two brothers Grigol and Giorgi — 280 drakhkani stamenoni alek'sati; 43 (Io.T'.) father Iované Buk'aysdze — 144 drakhkani stamenoni alek'sati; 79 (Io.T'.) T'eodoré — 2 lbs. protokharagi alek'sisay.

A second group of expressions appears to refer to the state of the coins:

(a) პროტოქარატი *protokharati* or პროტოქარაგი *protokharagi*, which terms appear to imply a Greek prototype $\pi\rho\omega\tau\omicron\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha\tau\tau\omicron\varsigma$ or $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha\gamma\omicron\varsigma$. I have not found the compound adjective anywhere in Greek sources, but the forms $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha\gamma\mu\alpha$ and $\chi\alpha\rho\alpha\gamma\eta$ are employed in Byzantine texts in the sense of coined money. Theophanes² uses both terms in the same passage, so it would appear that they were used interchangeably. $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha\gamma\mu\alpha$ is used repeatedly in the conversion table of coins issued under Alexius Comnenus,³ and is also deprecatingly mentioned by Anna Comnena. From the passages cited, the form $\chi\alpha\rho\alpha\gamma\eta$ seems to be the more vulgar. The term $\chi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\iota$ which Du Cange equates with $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha\gamma\mu\alpha$ is nothing more or less than the arabic خَرَّاج *kharāj*. The term obviously means "coins in mint condition."⁴

(b) ქინატი *k'inati*. This is a more difficult problem: I am inclined to equate it with $\chi\omega\nu\epsilon\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ "cast, refined" (of coins), but the vocalization of the first syllable causes difficulties.⁵ If the explanation advanced is correct, the reference would be to coins of a high gold content.⁶

(c) სტამენონი *stamenoni*. We are certain what this word means. Du Cange *s.v.* $\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ quotes a number of examples from the Prodromic poems and from vulgar Greek romances, but the fullest definition is given by the Florentine Pegolotti:⁸ "E spendesi un'altra moneta ch'è tutta di rame che

¹ In this instance it should be noted that Greek χ equals Georgian ხ *kh*: customarily χ is represented in Georgian by ქ — *k'* in accordance with the Syro-Armenian tradition, e.g., ქრისტე *K'ristey* = $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$.

² Theophanes A. M. 6183 ed. De Boor, p. 365. 10: $\tau\omicron\ \sigma\tau\alpha\lambda\epsilon\nu\ \chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha\gamma\mu\alpha\ \pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\ \text{'Αβιμελ\epsilon\chi}\ \nu\epsilon\omicron\phi\alpha\nu\epsilon\varsigma\ \delta\nu\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \mu\eta\delta\eta\pi\omicron\tau\epsilon\ \gamma\epsilon\gamma\omicron\nu\omicron\varsigma\ \omicron\upsilon\ \pi\rho\omicron\sigma\epsilon\delta\epsilon\acute{\xi}\alpha\tau\omicron\ .\ .\ .\ 15\ .\ .\ .\ \tau\omicron\omega\nu\ \text{'Αράβων}\ \mu\eta\ \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\delta\epsilon\chi\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\nu\ \tau\eta\nu\ \tau\omicron\omega\nu\ \text{'Ρωμαίων}\ \chi\alpha\rho\alpha\gamma\eta\nu$.

³ Ed. K. Zachariä von Lingenthal, *Ius Graeco-romanum* III (Lipsiae, 1857), pp. 385 f. See F. Chalandon, *Essai sur Alexis Comnène* (Paris, 1900), pp. 302 f.

⁴ 26 (M.D.) Basil the eparkhos and Basil the protonotarios — 3 lbs. of protokharati; 66 (Io.T') Ivané Kapanay — 100 drahkani protokharati.

64 (Io.T') T'eop'ilak'té the tailor — 42 protokharagi; 78 (Io.T') father Jerasimé 100 drahkani protokharagi; 97 (Io.T') T'eodoré — 2 lbs. of protokharagi of Alexis; 138 (s. xii) the archpriest Ioané T'ablaysdze (our scribe) — 30 k'inati protokharagi; 125 (Io.T') brother Giorgi — 100 drahkani protokharagi.

⁵ Note that if this etymology be true, $\chi = \text{ქ}$ = *k'*, in contrast to the term just discussed.

⁶ 41 (Io.T') the ancient Klimi — 1 lb. of k'inati; 120 (Io.T') Sumbat Kurapalat and Mariam — 1 lb. of drahka (*sic*) k'inati; 136 (s. xii) Ivané T'ablaysdze the archpriest — 120 k'inati protokharagi.

⁷ *Glossarium*, t. II, col. 1427.

⁸ Ed. Evans, p. 40.

si chiamano stanmini, e il tornese picciolo si conta per quattro stanmini, ma a questi stanmini non si fa nullo pagamento se none in passaggio di Gostantinopoli per lo paese, e per erbe e cose minute.” In my estimation the word is simply *ιστάμενα*, i.e., coins sold by weight.¹ In other words, donors of this type of currency probably arrived at the monastery with sacks full of small change.²

A third category of epithets might be called descriptive, and refer to the design on the coin itself:

(a) *ἑξακεφάλιον*³ *ek'ust'avi* “six-header” probably represents the Greek *ἑξακέφαλον*. The only coin with six heads upon it in the Byzantine currency of this period is the nomisma of Romanus Diogenes and Eudocia Makrembolitissa, on which we have represented:

<i>Reverse</i>	<i>Obverse</i>
Michael	Romanus
Constantine	Jesus
Andronicus	Eudocia
(the sons of Eudocia)	

Compare the reproduction of this coin in Wroth, *l. c.*, II, pl. LXI, 11 and 12.

(b) *τριακέφαλον* *triakep'ali* — *τριακέφαλον*.⁴ This coin can be identified with less certainty than the preceding one, but I am inclined tentatively to equate it with the nomisma of Eudocia Makrembolitissa, issued when she was sole sovereign: cf. Wroth, *l. c.*, pl. LXI, 10. The two names seem to be connected, and the types ought not to be far apart chronologically.

(c) *stavrobotonati* would be the Greek *σταυροβοτονειάτης*.⁵ This expression must refer to some coin of Nicephorus Botoneiates, which was clearly marked with a cross. Type I of the nomisma of this monarch as reproduced by Wroth (pl. LXIII, 4) would seem to be the coin meant.

¹ Quoted by Evans *s.v.* *stanmini* in the glossary of his edition, p. 437.

² 42 (Io.T') Iované Sisikoneli and his brothers Grigol and Giorgi — 280 drahkani stamenoni alek'sat'i; 43 (Io.T') father Ivané Buk'aysdze — 144 stamenoni alek'sati; 65 (Io.T') Irisé P'urt'ukhalay — 20 lbs. of new stamenoni; 84 (Io.T') T'eop'ané of Petrici — 2 lbs. of stamenoni; 106 (Io.T') Mik'el Abrahamisdze — 300 drahkani stamenoni; 111 (Io.T') Abaz Bakurianisdze — 500 drahkani ek'ust'avi stamenoni; 120 (Io.T') Sumbat Kurapalat — 500 drahkani stamenoni . . . and one lb. of stamenoni; 146 (Io.T') Ok'ropiri Kharaz — 600 stamenoni; 30 (s. xii-xiii) brothers Ivané and Mik'el — 100 drahkani stamenoni.

³ 111 (Io.T') Abaz Bakurianisdze — 500 drahkani stamenoni ek'ust'avi. In this case we have a translation of the term.

⁴ 128 (Io.T') Ioané P'op'khaysdze — 100 triakep'ali; 141 (Io.T') Nikola of Petrici — 50 new triakep'ali. Note that we have here a transcription of the word.

⁵ 119 (Io.T') Iakob, in the lay world Iaqt' — 100 drahkani stavrovotonati.

One other designation remains obscure. The adjective *dimitrati* (Δημητριάτης) is coupled in four instances with the word *drahkani*.¹ As no Byzantine emperor ever bore this name, we have evidently to do here with a term for a coin on which was represented a figure of St. Demetrius. This I have not yet been able to identify, but, as the memorials appear to be late, the inference may be drawn that some issue of the Comneni is meant.

Sums are not infrequently stated in pounds ლიტრა (litray), sometimes with the addition of a monetary unit, sometimes without.²

The use of the term *gandzi* ગાંડડો (arm. *հանձ* *gandz*, gr. γάζα) is not infrequent in our memorials.³ We have already seen above that it is employed in Byzantine documents to some extent. In most instances it appears here as an estimate of value, but in some cases it may be actual plate. The term seems to cover gold and silver alike, as icons are frequently mentioned among the objects comprised in the gift,

¹ 3 (date uncertain) Arseni the Black — 2 mules worth 180 dimitrati; 59 (date uncertain) Davit' the priest — 200 drahkani dimitrati; 75 (s. xiv-xv?) Arseni T'evdorakani — 200 drahkani dimitrati; 136 (Io.T') Nikola the priest — 300 drahkani dimitrati.

The above materials raise a question in my mind whether no. 136 is really by Ioané T'ablaysdze, and Zhordania is wrong in his attribution. The coin is obviously a debased one.

² 15 (M.D.) Petrik and his brother Ivané — 1 lb. solimni; 20 (M.D.) Sanano K'velisdze — 1 lb. of gandzi; 26 (M.D.) Basil eparkhozi and Basil protonotari — 3 lbs. protokharagi; 30 (s. xii-xiii) brothers Ivané and Mik'el — 1 lb. votaniati; 41 (Io.T') the ancient Klimi — 1 lb. k'inati drahkani; 53 (Io.T') T'evdoré — 1 lb. of gandzi; 56 (Io.T') Giorgi Magistros — 40 lbs. of gandzi; 65 (Io.T') Irisé P'urt'-ukhalay — 20 lbs. of new stamenoni; 72 (Io.T') Kristep'oré Lalakay — 1 lb. of gandzi; 76 (Io.T') Symeon Eladisay and his son Giorgi — 3 lbs. of new drahkani; 77 (Io.T') Giorgi Dedop'leuri and his son Giorgi — 4 lbs. of drahkani; 79 (Io.T') T'evdoré — 1 lb. protokharagi alexisay; 84 (Io.T') T'oep'ané of Petrici — 2 lbs. of stamenoni; 92 (Io.T'?) Kyriaké the Kakhet'ian — . . . worth 3 lbs. of gandzi; 120 (Io.T') Sumbat Kurapalat and his wife Mariam — 1 lb. of stamenoni; 1 lb. of stamenoni; 7 lbs. of drahkani k'inati; 133 (Io.T') Mariam the queen and her son Kostantiné Porphyrogennetos — a solimni of 5 lbs., and 6 lbs. to divide among the brethren.

³ Most of the cases where treasure is mentioned have been assembled in the preceding note; cf. nos. 20, 53, 56, 72 and 92. To these we can add 50 (Io.T') Giorgi Č'orč'aneli, the brother of P'arsman — great treasures and rich cloths; 133 Queen Mariam and her son Constantine — gave treasure. On the Georgian and Armenian forms see Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, I, p. 126, no. 129.

and these were generally framed or covered with silver, in Byzantine, as well as in modern, times.

In addition to the sums in money and treasure not a few donations in kind or in goods are mentioned. For this the Byzantine *terminus technicus* was *ἐῖδη*. These are varied in their nature, as one would expect, but fall into fairly well-marked classes, and for completeness' sake we shall list them here.

First of all we find gifts of food. The most important item is grain — gifts for the most part during periods of famine. Some contributions in money are noted as having been given in times of stress. The expression *პური puri* (lit. bread — *ἄρτος*) is used and should be understood as *σῖτος*, and translated as "wheat." The Georgian had a special term for wheat *იგქლი ip'k'li*, and another *ხუარბლი khuarbli* (used in the text), which denote the species as contrasted with other grains, such as *ქრთილი k'rt'ili* barley: in the modern language this term has gone out of use, and wheat is *წმინდა პური cminḁa puri*, "pure bread," or even just *პური puri*. *Halvā* is likewise mentioned — probably *rahat lukum* in its moist, primitive form — familiar to all those who have visited Mt. Athos. Some other scattering food-stuffs occur. Wine, however, is noticeably absent from the list.¹

Second come gifts of an ecclesiastical nature. Among these are icons, altar-cloths, vestments, mantles, scaramangia (why?), patens, chalices and other church utensils. Here, too, we may mention manuscripts.²

¹ 2 (M.D.) Bishop Leon — a loan to us in wheat, rye and barley of 60 modia; 135 (s. xii) Giorgi of Juaris C'ikhé — grain; 103 (Io.T') Mariam — grain.

² Manuscripts: 5 Symeon Kherkeli — 4 mss.; 22 Mik'el erstwhile father — silver-bound gospels and Praxapostle; 32 Petré the priest — 12 in 7 volumes; 47 Ivané erstwhile Rus — 5 mss.; 139 Giorgi of Juaris C'ikhe — mss.

Icons and ecclesiastical vessels: 41 the ancient Klimi — an icon with relic inside; 43 father Ivané Buk'aysdze — a cross of gold; 56 Giorgi Magistros — vessels of silver; 92 Kyriaké the Kakhetian — ornaments worth 3 litray; 103 Mariam — one paten; 104 Basil, erstwhile Vač'e — an icon; 115 the proedros Lulu — a cross (*juari*; the edition has *jori*, a mule) "which we sold for 1700 perperati" and a basin of silver for the church worth 60 *ξάγυα*; 118 Davit' the merchant — a silver paten; 120 Sumbat Kurapalat — 2 patens. Cloths, drapes and garments: red cloth (prob. for wall hangings (*კუმბიო kumashi*; russ. *кумач*); 48 Gabriel Evanezisdze; 50 Giorgi Č'orč'aneli: brocades (*stavray*) velvets (*ek'samitoni*, *p'arč'i*) — 56, 92, 120, 125, 150, 155, scaramangion — 72; clothes 63, 81; 70 brother Basil — 2 millstones.

Aids to transportation were gratefully received, both by sea and by land. Heavy transport on Mt. Athos, then as now, was carried by sea as far as possible: some of the cloisters are on the seashore, like Iviron itself, others on the higher ground. All have their ἀρσηνάλι on the strand. We have two instances of the gift of a ship in our documents (8, 158). Land transport is also important, however, and horses and mules figure largely, also oxen. The quality and type of the animals are also noted, and as a good mule was worth 7 nomismata, such a gift was not an inconsiderable one.¹

Lastly, as far as gifts of land were concerned, these are not generally enumerated in our sources (cf. 6, 14, 60). T'ornik's benefactions form an exception to this rule, but here our data come from the *Vita Euthymii*. By implication, however, single donations do appear, as in a number of instances, the whole or part of the estate of a deceased magnate was left to the cloister. Repairs to the cloister were equally appreciated, and intervention with the great ones of this world was recorded even as gifts in money and land.²

In contrast to the 11th century coins we have discussed above we

¹ 31 (s. xii) Ibniani — 2 horses; 41 (Io.T') the ancient Klimi — 2 horses with saddle and bridle; 53 (Io.T') T'evdoré — 2 chargers; 55 (Io.T') Liparit the son of Ivané — 2 horses; 63 (Io.T') Symon the notary the Georgian — horses and oxen and labour (*našromi*); 70 (Io.T') brother Basil — 2 horses; 72 (Io.T') K'ristep'oré Lalako — 1 mule; 81 (Io.T') Iované erstwhile Lulu — 1 good horse; 102 (s. xii) Milaray and his son K'obul — 2 mules and 1 horse; 111 (Io.T') Abaz Bakurianisdze — 7 horses and mules; 128 (s. xii-xiii) Iované P'op'khaysdze — 2 horses; 140 (s. xii) Mosé the Georgian — 3 good horses; 141 (s. xii) Nikola of Petrici — 2 mules with saddle and bridle; 143 (s. xii-xiii) Iované Kojikhisdze — 1 mule. Apparently 3 milch cows (*p'urni khboredni*) valued at 3 lbs. of new drahkani were given by Symon Eladisay and his family (76); in view of the prohibition of females on Mount Athos, this seems a peculiar gift, if I have understood the expression correctly.

² Records of influence, estates, and buildings:

Influence

7 Apénile, mother of Maxharebeli exerted pressure in Constantinople; 15 Petrik and his brother Ivané — influence with K. Bagrat; 20 Sanano K'velisdze — influence with K. Bagrat.

Estates

10 Saba, in lay world Monomakh — whole estate; 32 Mik'el — all his estate; 98 Leon Epistates — estate; 112 Pantiné of St. Basil — ½ estate; field of 500 modii

can note in conclusion the mention of Osmanly currency (ოტმანურბი *ot'manuri*) in a late memorial (162: a. 1498). This text mentions a gift of 25,500 piastres from Quarquaré, the at'abeg of Meskhia, a border state which was leading a parlous and troubled existence between Turkey and Persia. It is interesting that the gift partly consisted of gold florins (ფლურბი *p'luri*) partly of silver in the form of თეთრბი *t'et'ri* (blancs: ἄσπρα: Turkish *aqçé* from *aq* white). Here we find ourselves in another economic world, akin to that which we encounter in the synodikon of Jerusalem, but a full consideration of this latter document must be deferred to another time and place.

The memorials in the codex of Iviron, brief and scattered though they are, afford us, as we have seen, some idea of the type and quantity of the donations which a rich and popular Byzantine monastery was likely to receive during the 11th century. They also contribute some valuable contemporary testimony as to the economic dislocation which was beginning to affect the empire, and enable us, I believe, to fix the inception of the period of inflation and illustrate some of its multifarious effects upon the economic life of the state.

added to it; 135 Giorgi of C'ikhis Juari — estate ($\frac{1}{4}$ according to 139?); 145 Grigol and Ivané K'obulisdze planted a 25 modia vineyard.

Buildings

33 Mik'el the priest Kananakhi — rebuilt burned cells; 43 father Iované Buk'-aysdze — good battlements on wall (bastion); 144 Nikolozi restored Church of Archangels and raised the tower; 145 the brothers K'obulisdze restored outer wall of cloister and the *μετόχιον* of St. Nicholas; 158 (s. xii) many reconstructions in the cloister by the great *οἰκονόμος* Giorgi.

SOME EARLY BYZANTINE TAX RECORDS FROM EGYPT

By A. E. R. BOAK

THE papyri which are discussed in the present article form a part of the archive of Aurelios Isidoros which was found at Karanis in 1924 and is now in the Egyptian Museum at Cairo. Other documents from the same collection have been edited by the writer in *Études de Papyrologie*, II (1933), 1-22; III (1936), 1-45; V (1939), 85-117. Those published here have been selected as illustrating some of the aspects of tax collecting in an Egyptian village after the tax reforms of Diocletian. The first three texts offer information regarding the activities of the village head men or komarchs of Karanis as local tax agents of the government; the fourth has to do with the special grain collectors called silologoi.¹

I

RECORDS OF THE KOMARCHS OF KARANIS

The following texts illustrate certain phases of the responsibilities of the komarchs of Karanis with respect to the collection and transport of taxes in their capacity as administrative heads of the village.

No. 1

Cairo, *Journal d'entrée* No. 57061 29.5 x 25.5 cm. A.D. 315

The text covers two columns and contains three separate documents, each written in a different hand. The first document occupies the whole of Col. I, the others make up Col. II. Col. I is considerably shorter than Col. II and has suffered a good deal from breaks and abrasion. In view of the difference in character between the content of the document in Col. I and that of those in Col. II, it will be found convenient to discuss each column separately.

¹ In the reading and interpretation of these texts, I have received many helpful suggestions from various sources, but I wish to acknowledge my particular indebtedness to M. O. Guéraud of the Egyptian Museum, Dr. H. I. Bell of the British Museum, and Assistant Professor H. C. Youtie of the University of Michigan.

Col. I

κεφαλαιωται κώμης [Καρανί]δος
Κάστωρ Σαβείν[ο]ν
Παπέεις Πανιτη[.]
Δημήτριος Χαιρήμ(ωνος)
5 Διόσκορος Τιβερί[ου]
Σαραπίω[ν Σ]εργή[ου]
[[Πτολλᾶς Ἀραβίω[νος]]]]
Διόσκορος Κ.[.]τοροϛ
Ἰσίδωρος Λεωνί[δου]
10 Πατίσις Ἰσιδώρου
Παῆσις Μέλαν[ος]
[.]πelas

3. Πανιτη[.]: perhaps Πανιτή[s].

8. Κ.[.]τοροϛ: Κάστορος for Κάστωρος suggests itself, but the fragmentary letter following K does not look like α, and the τ, although possible, is by no means certain.

9-10. Each of these lines is checked on the right by an upward-sloping stroke.

The preceding column contains a list of 11 persons, described in line 1 as κεφαλαιωται κώμης [Καρανί]δος. This is the first list of the kind that has been published, although references to individuals and smaller groups are not uncommon. The κεφαλαιωται κώμης (sc. Hermoupolis) who appear in F. Preisigke, *Griechische Urkunden d. ägyptischen Museums zu Kairo* (Strassburg, 1911), pp. 6, 2, probably comprised a large number. Our list confirms the evidence of the Hermoupolis papyrus, that the κεφαλαιωται were appointed by villages. The functions of the κεφαλαιωται, who are known in Egypt from the fourth century A.C. until after the Arab conquest, have been discussed most fully by F. Oertel, *Die Liturgie* (Leipzig, 1917), 225-229. As he points out, we have to distinguish at least two types of κεφαλαιωται. The one acted as presidents or "headmen" of associations of various kinds; the other served to allocate fiscal obligations on a per capita basis. In the performance of their duties the κεφαλαιωται were under the direction of the *praepositus pagi*. But there is no evidence that

they were selected by him. It is much more likely that they, with other liturgical officials, were nominated by the komarchs of their respective villages. This would account for the appearance of a list such as ours along with other official records pertaining to the activities of a pair of komarchs of Karanis.

Col. II

(a)

Παρήνεγκαν Γερμανὸς καὶ Ἀρίστων
 κωμάρχαι κώμης Καρανίδος
 15 ἐν μὲν πλοίῳ Παυσιρίου κριθῆς
 χωρούσης Ἑφαιστίωνι ἀρτάβας
 εἴκοσι ὄκτω μέτρα ὄκτω, (ἀρτάβας) κθ μ(έτρα) η
 καὶ δι' ἐμοῦ Ἑρακλείου ἄλλας ἀρτάβας
 εἴκοσι ἔννεα μέτρα ἐπτά, (ἀρτάβας) κθ μ(έτρα) ζ,
 20 ὁμοῦ (ἀρτάβας) νηΛ"
 ἐνάτω καὶ ζ (ἔτει) τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου
 καὶ Λικιννίου Σεβαστῶν, Μεσορὴ κε.

(b)

Αὐρήλιος Κολλοῦθος κυβερνήτης
 Αὐρηλίοις Ἀρίστων καὶ Γερμανός κω-
 25 μά(ρ)χοι κώμης Καιρανίδος χαίρειν.
 μεμαίτρημαι καὶ ἀνεβαλόμην τὴν κριθὴν
 Ἑφαιστίωνος τοῦ ἵπποτρόφος Ἀλεξανδρείας
 ὑπὲρ γενήματος γ ἐνδεκτίωνος κριθῆς ἀρτά-
 βας εἴκοσι μεία ἡμεισιν, (ἀρτάβας) καΛ". [ἡ] δὲ ἀποχή αὐ-
 30 τῇ μοναχῇ ἐξεδόμην καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὠμολόγησα.
 ὑπατίας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Λικιννίου
 Σεβαστῶν τὸ δ', Θῶθ ιδ'.

Αὐρήλιος Κολλοῦθος ἔγραψα τὰ ὅλα.

21. ἐνάτω καὶ ζ (ἔτει): an unusual combination of numeral adjective and numeral symbol. We should expect either ἐνάτω καὶ ἐβδόμῳ or θ καὶ ζ, and the genitive is more regular than the dative in such formulae. The normal method of dating at this period was no longer by regnal years, but by consulships, as in ll. 31-32 below.

The ninth year of Constantine I and the seventh of Licinius is equivalent to A.D. 314-315, and since Mesore 25 corresponds to August 18, the date of the document is 18 August 315.

24. Ἀρίστων καὶ Γερμανός: nom. for dat.
 24-25. κωμά(ρ)χοι: read κωμά(ρ)χαι, nom. for dat.
 25. Καιρανίδος: *sic*.
 26. μεμαίτρημαι: read μεμέτρημαι.
 27. ἵπποτρόφος: nom. for gen.
 28. γ' ἐνδεκτίωνος: read (τρίτης) ἰνδικτίωνος, i.e. A.D. 314; cf. *P. Cairo* Preis. 40. 6; 11; P. Jouguet, *Papyrus de Théadelphie* (Paris, 1911), 29, 16; E. H. Kase, *A Papyrus-roll from the Princeton Collection*, pp. 29-30.
 29. μεία ἡμεισιν: read μία ἡμισιν; cf. ὑπατίας for ὑπατείας in l. 31.
 29-30. [ἡ] δὲ ἀποχή αὐτῇ μοναχῇ: nom. for acc. after ἐξεδόμην.
 31-32. The date is 11 September 315.

Translation

(a)

Germanos and Ariston, komarchs of the village of Karanis, have delivered in the boat of Pausirios twenty-eight artabas, eight metra — artabas 28, metra 8 — of barley destined for Hephaistion; and through me, Herakleios, an additional twenty-nine artabas, seven metra — artabas 29, metra 7 — in all artabas 58½.

The ninth and seventh year of our lords Constantine and Licinius, Augusti, Mesore 25.

(b)

Aurelios Kollouthos, shipmaster, to Aurelios Ariston and Aurelios Germanos, komarchs of the village of Karanis, greeting.

I have measured and loaded the barley of Hephaistion the horse-raiser of Alexandria from the harvest of the third indiction, twenty-one and a half artabas — artabas 21½. And I have issued this receipt in a single copy, and upon being formally interrogated, I have acknowledged it.

The fourth consulship of our lords Constantine and Licinius, Augusti, Thoth 14.

I, Aurelios Kollouthos, wrote the whole document.

The two foregoing texts in Col. II are receipts given to two komarchs of Karanis for deliveries of barley to be shipped to Alexandria. In the first, (a), a person named Herakleios acknowledges the delivery of two lots of barley, one of 28 artabas 8 metra, the other of 29 artabas 7 metra. Together they amount to 57 artaba 15 metra = 58½ artabas. The first delivery was made in a boat belonging to one Pausirios, who was either a shipowner (*ναύκληρος*) operating boats on the Fayûm Canal and possibly on the Nile itself, or a shipmaster (*κυβερνήτης*) like the Kollouthos of receipt (b). The second came through Herakleios himself (*δι' ἐμοῦ Ἡρακλείου*, l. 18) which seems to mean that Herakleios assumed charge of its transportation either by water or by land from the place where it was turned over to him by the komarchs. This receipt lacks the customary formula of validation (*καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὠμολόγησα*, cf. l. 30, and No. 3, l. 17), and also any reference to the writer, who may, or may not, have been Herakleios himself. A possible explanation of these omissions is that this text may be a copy of a more complete original.

The second receipt, (b), was given to the same pair of komarchs of Karanis by Aurelios Kollouthos, a shipmaster (*κυβερνήτης*, l. 23), for a third shipment of barley made in his vessel. This shipment, amounting to 21½ artabas, was destined for the same person at Alexandria as the two lots recorded in receipt (a). In the latter only his name, Hephaistion, was given (l. 16), but here his official title, *ἵπποτρόφος*, or "horse-raiser," and his residence, Alexandria, are included (l. 27). This information explains the nature of the shipments of the barley which are obviously to supply feed for the horses under his care. As to the receipt itself, there is no question that it is an original and not a copy. It is a cheirograph, written in the first person by Kollouthos himself (l. 33) and contains the statement that it is the only one which he has given. Kollouthos, who describes himself as a *κυβερνήτης*, was a shipmaster or captain rather than a shipowner; cf. Oertel *Liturgie* 123.

Since it is stated specifically that the barley delivered in the boat of Pausirios was going to Hephaistion (*χωρούσης Ἡφαιστίωνι*, l. 16), and since this is implied in the use of *τὴν κριθὴν Ἡφαιστίωνος* in l. 27, and since we know from payrus No. 2, ll. 12-13, that all the barley mentioned in the two receipts was to be delivered to the same official, some

questions suggest themselves with regard to its transportation. Was the grain shipped directly by water from Karanis to Alexandria or was it transported by land or water to some other point from which the final shipment was made? It is impossible, perhaps, to give a definitive answer to these questions, but I believe that the probabilities are in favor of Karanis or its immediate neighborhood. The receipts themselves were given to the komarchs of Karanis and it is extremely unlikely that these officials would have personally superintended the transport of grain outside of the territory under their jurisdiction. If they had been responsible for delivering it at some distant point in the Fayûm or the Nile Valley, they would probably have used an agent or agents to whom the receipts would have been given with a statement of where it had been delivered. The probability is, then, that the delivery took place, if not at Karanis itself, at least in its vicinity. This would harmonize very well with the wording of receipt (b), in which the shipmaster declares that he has weighed and loaded the barley of Hephaistion (ll. 26-27). If he had received a cargo for delivery to Herakleios at some intermediate point, he would have called it the barley of Herakleios and no reference to its ultimate destination would have been required. A similar interpretation can be put upon ll. 15 and 16 of receipt (a). When Germanos and Aristion are said to have made delivery "in the boat of Pausirios" of a quantity of barley going to Hephaistion, this means that they had delivered it on board the boat, as in the case of the vessel of Kollouthos, for shipment to Hephaistion, and not that they had brought it to Herakleios in the said boat. Obviously, if they could ship grain by water from Karanis to some other point, it would be more logical to ship it directly to Alexandria than to unload and reload it at some intermediate point. The alternative, which seems extremely unlikely, is that the two komarchs personally conducted caravans of camels or donkeys to some distant harbor where the vessels were loaded.

The only waterway which passed within any reasonable distance of Karanis was the canal which skirted the northeastern border of the Fayûm and was the ancient precursor of the present Abdullah Wahabi Canal. This canal served the villages of Philadelphia, Bacchias, and Karanis as well as the numerous smaller settlements in this section of the Fayûm. In the early fourth century it was still in good condition,

to judge from the contemporary state of Karanis as shown by the University of Michigan excavations. Unfortunately, we do not know its measurements at any point in the neighborhood of Karanis, although it must have been considerably larger than the modern canal, for it supplied a much wider agricultural area.

The cargoes in each case were small and capable of being transported in canal boats. The boat of Pausirios carried 28.8 artabas, that commanded by Kollouthos 21.5 artabas, and the amount delivered through Hērakleios, which presumably formed a third cargo, was 29.7 artabas. Allowing 83 $\frac{1}{2}$ Alexandrian or 90 Roman pounds to the artaba (cf. A. Segrè, *Metrologia* (Bologna, 1928), p. 29), we obtain the corresponding cargo weights of 2400 lbs., 1791.67 lbs., and 2475 lbs. Alexandrian; or 2692 lbs., 1935 lbs., and 2673 lbs. Roman.

The discussion of other aspects of these grain deliveries will be presented in connection with the following papyrus, No. 2.

No. 2

Cairo, *Journal d'entrée* No. 57037 26 x 26 cm. A.D. 315

The papyrus is badly cracked and has numerous small holes, besides being rubbed in some places and stained in others, so that many letters are entirely lost and others almost illegible.

Αὐρήλιοι Ἀρίστων Σερήνου καὶ Γερμανὸς
 διὰ τοῦ πατρὸς Σερ[ή]νου ἀμφ(ότεροι) κωμάρχαι
 κώμης Καρανίδος γ' ἰνδικτίωνος
 Αὐρηλίῳ Ἑρακλ[έ]ῳ υἱοῦ Πλουτίωνος
 5 χαίρειν.
 ἡρηθμήθημεν παρὰ σοῦ ἀκολουθῶς
 τοῖς κελευσθείσης ὑπὸ τῆς ἡγεμονείας
 ὑπὲρ τιμῆς ἧς παρεσχέκαμεν κριθῆς
 Κολλούθῳ μὲν κυβερνήτῃ κριθῆς ἄρτα-
 10 βῶν εἴκοσι μίας [ή]μίσους καὶ διὰ [α]ὐτοῦ
 Ἑρακλέου ἄρταβῶν πεντήκοντα [όκτ]ῶ
 ἡμ[ί]σους, ὁμοῦ κριθῆς ἄρταβῶν ὀγδοή-
 κ[ον]τὰ χωρούσης Ἑφεστίωνι .[.] .κιωναρίῳ
 Ἀλ[ε]ξανδρίας καλλιεινων ἀπὸ τ[α]λάντῳ

- 15 δέκα τρίων καὶ δραχμῶν δισχει[λίω]ν
μόνα ἀργυρίου τάλαντα δέκα πλήρη. ἢ ἀπο-
χῇ κυρία καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὡμολόγησα.
Αὐρήλιος Νειλάμμων βουλ(ευτῆς) ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐ-
τῶν ἀγραμμάτων καὶ ἐσωμάτισα τὰ ὅλα.
- 20 ὑπατίας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου
καὶ Λικιννείου Σεβ[α]στῶν τὸ δ', Θῶθ ιθ.

3. γ' ἰνδικτίωνος: read (τρίτης) ἰνδ. i.e. A.D. 314, cf. No. 1, 28.
4. Ἡρακλ[έ]ω: for the spelling cf. l. 11, but in No. 1, 18 we have the more usual Ἡρακλεῖος.
υἱοῦ: gen. for dat.
6. ἡρηθμῆθημεν: read ἡριθμῆθημεν, a regular term indicating the receipt of payments, cf. F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch d. griechischen Papyriurkunden* (Berlin, 1925), s.v. ἀριθμέω.
7. κελευσθείσης: for κελευσθεῖσι.
τῆς ἡγεμονείας: used of the "government" in general, rather than of any special authority in Egypt. The confusion of ι and ει is repeated in l. 15 δισχει[λίω]ν.
13. Ἡφεςτίωνι: for Ἡφαιστίωνι, cf. No. 1, ll. 16, 27.
[.].κιωναρίω: only slight traces of the first and third letters remain, the κ and ι are fairly certain.
14. καλλιεινων: I can offer no explanation of this word.
16. πλήρης: here indeclinable.
- 20-21. The date is 16 September A.D. 315.

Translation

Aurelios Ariston, son of Serenos, and Aurelios Germanos, acting through his father Serenos, both komarchs of the village of Karanis for the third indiction, to Aurelios Herakleios, son of Ploution, greeting.

We have been paid by you in conformity with the orders of the government for the price of the barley which we have delivered, namely to Kollouthos the shipmaster twenty-one and a half artabas of barley and through Herakleios himself fifty-eight and a half artabas, in all eighty artabas of barley going to Hephaistion the - - - of Alexan-

dria - - -, from a total of thirteen talents and two thousand drachmas ten talents only in silver in full payment.

The receipt is valid, and upon being formally interrogated I have acknowledged it.

I, Aurelios Neilammon, a councillor, have written for them as they are illiterate and have drawn up the whole document.

The fourth consulship of our lords Constantine and Licinius Augusti, Thoth 19.

This document is a receipt given by the two komarchs of Karanis, Ariston and Germanos, to Herakleios for the payment in full of the money due them for the deliveries of barley destined for Hephaistion in Alexandria. As such it forms the sequel to the activities revealed by receipts (a) and (b) of No. 1. The time sequence of the three receipts is as follows.

No. 1 (a), Receipt of Herakleios to Ariston and Germanos for two shipments of barley amounting to $58\frac{1}{2}$ artabas — August 18.

No. 1 (b), Receipt of Kollouthos the shipmaster to Ariston and Germanos for $21\frac{1}{2}$ artabas of barley — September 11.

No. 2, Receipt of Ariston and Germanos to Herakleios for ten talents of the thirteen talents two thousand drachmas due them for the total of 80 artabas of barley — September 16.

From the three documents, and in particular from the third, it is obvious that we have the records of an official requisition of barley for government purposes at Alexandria. As far as we can reconstruct it, the procedure was the following. The komarchs of Karanis for the third indiction, that is, the year A.D. 314 (No. 2, 3; No. 1, 28 and note) were notified that they must furnish a certain quantity of barley from the harvest of that year for the use of Hephaistion, the horse-raiser in Alexandria. For this they were to receive compensation at a rate fixed by the authorities. We are not informed regarding the official who issued these instructions, but it is likely that they were communicated to the komarchs by Herakleios, the official to whom they were to deliver the barley and from whom they were to receive payment. It is possible that Herakleios was in charge of the deliveries from Karanis alone, but more likely that he functioned for a group of villages or possibly for the whole of the Arsinoite nome. In view of the small

quantity of barley received from Karanis, it is to be inferred that similar requisitions were made in the other villages.

In neither of the two receipts in which his name occurs (No. 1 (a) and No. 2), does Herakleios receive any official title. It seems to me that this implies that he held no important office, and must be looked upon merely as a subordinate of Hephaistion in Alexandria.

We are also in considerable doubt with regard to the official position of Hephaistion himself. In No. 1, 16, he appears without any title; in No. 1, 27 he is called the *hippotrophos* of Alexandria; and in No. 2, 13-14, the - - *kionarios* of Alexandria. The term *hippotrophos* is rare in the papyri and the other instances of its use refer to private occupations (as *Aegyptische Urkunden aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin: Griechische Urkunden*, I (1895), 151, 3 [Byzantine], and *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, XVI (1924), 2110, 6 [A.D. 370]). Here, however, we have to deal with an officer stationed at Alexandria who is employed in a public and not a private capacity. It also seems certain that he held military rank, for the ending *-onarios* of the damaged word in No. 2, 13, corresponding to the Latin *-onarius*, and familiar from titles like *λεγιωνάριος* and *στατιωνάριος*, points to a position in the army organization. Accordingly, we would not be far wrong in regarding Hephaistion as the officer in charge of the remount department under the command of the *dux limitis Aegyptiaci*.

When the komarchs received the order to deliver the required amount of barley, they had to collect it from the landholders of the village. The documents before us give no information as to the method of collection which they employed. They had the option of purchasing it from those who would sell voluntarily or requisitioning it at the government rate. If the latter practice was adopted, as seems most likely, they may have made use of the *kephalaiotai*, whose names appear in No. 1, Col. I, to supervise the collection of the barley and its transportation to the place of embarkation where it was turned over to Herakleios.

At the official price, the komarchs were entitled to receive 13 talents 2000 drachmas for the 80 artabas of barley. This gives a rate of exactly 10,000 drachmas per artaba, which is the same as that given for A.D. 314 by *Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer* (Wien, 1894), E 2000. Mickwitz considered this to be unusually high because it is identical

with the price of wheat quoted in the same papyrus, whereas barley normally costs three-fifths as much as wheat (G. Mickwitz, *Geld und Wirtschaft im röm. Reiche des vierten Jahrhunderts* (Helsingfors, 1932), p. 100 n. 9). But the agreement of the two texts proves that the price indicated by *PER. E* 2000 cannot be regarded as an exceptional case, and some other explanation must be sought for the identity of wheat and barley prices in this year. For the 13 T. 2000 dr. due them, the komarchs accepted 10 T. in silver (ἀργυρίου) in full payment (πλήρης; No. 2, l. 16). This points to a premium on silver over copper coins. However, although the money is reckoned in talents and drachmas, the only silver coins issued in Egypt at this time were denarii, each considered equivalent to 4 drachmas. At this period, A.D. 314-316, the Egyptian denarii were so debased that 1 lb. gold was equivalent to 1,404,000 denarii (Mickwitz *Geld u. Wirtschaft* 98-100), which accounts for the high prices paid for wheat and barley.

Each of the two komarchs was the son of a Serenos (ll. 1-2), and probably they were brothers, although the fact that the father of Germanos acted as his representative in issuing this receipt necessitated a form of statement which prevented the use of the phrase ἀμφότεροι Σερήνου as we might have expected in such a case. They were komarchs for the third indiction = A.D. 314 (l. 3), and possibly for the following year also, since the two earlier receipts issued to them in 315 are addressed to them as komarchs without qualification of any specific year, the normal usage with officials in office.

No. 3

Assignments of Taxes

Cairo, *Journal d'entrée*, No. 57060 42 x 17 cm. Early IVth Century

The papyrus is somewhat broken along vertical folds, and the writing has suffered from this and from abrasion. The lines, written in a medium, upright cursive script, begin about 20 cm. from the left side of the sheet and extend almost to the right edge.

μερισμοὶ κώμης Καρανίδος κωμαρχίας Πεληνίου(ν)	
πρῶτος μερισμός	(τάλαντα) ρε
(δεύτερος) μερισμός	(τάλαντα) μ
(τρίτος) μερισμός	(τάλαντα) λγ (δραχμαὶ) 'Δ

- 5 (τέταρτος) μερισμός σιτοῦ (ἀρτάβαι) ζ
 (πέμπτος) μερισμός (τάλαντα) μς (δραχμαί) 'Δ,
 ἐρεβίνθου (ἀρτάβαι) γ, φασήλου (ἀρτάβαι) β, ὀρύβου (ἀρτάβαι) β.
 καθὼς βούλονται οἱ κωμάρχοι μερίζουσιν, οὔτε εἰς σαλάρων ἢ .ουεδριων
 πυνθάνοι{ι}νται δι' ὅτι συνδυάζουσιν μετὰ τοῦ πραιποσίτο(υ), οὔτε
 10 γραμματέως οὔτε κλήρω οὔτε τῷ δικαίῳ φρ[ο]ντίζουσιν· ἀλλ' ὥς
 βούλονται πράσσωσιν.

κριθῆς μέτρῳ δωδεκαμέτρῳ (ἀρτάβαι) θβ . . θ

2. (τάλαντα): the symbol is ζ.
3. (δεύτερος): in this and the following lines the ordinals are expressed by the appropriate numerical signs β'', γ', δ', ε'.
4. (δραχμαί) 'Δ: 'Δ is very carelessly written but can hardly be anything else.
8. κωμάρχοι: *sic*. εἰς σαλάρων: read σαλάριον.
 ἢ .ουεδριων: Bell would read πονεδριων, suggesting the possibility that this is an error for προέδριον, a form that might mean "privilege."
11. πράσσωσιν: read πράσσουσιν.
12. . . θ: possibly an abbreviation of μέτρα preceded θ.

Translation

Assignments for the village of Karanis in the komarchy of Pelenios

First assignment	105 talents
Second assignment	40 talents
Third assignment	33 talents 4000 drachmas
Fourth assignment	7 artabas of wheat
Fifth assignment	46 talents 4000 drachmas, 3 artabas of peas, 2 artabas of beans, 2 artabas of vetch.

The komarchs assign the quotas just as they please, neither do they enquire into salary or . . ., for they act in collusion with the *praepositus*, nor do they pay attention to (the) secretary, either in (casting) lot or in (accordance with) justice, but they act as they please.

Barley by the twelve-choenix measure, 92 artabas 9 (metra?)

The document is dated by the komarchy of Palenios mentioned in line 1 as the period to which the assignments belonged. Unfortunately, however, we have no other reference to this komarch and consequently do not know in what year or years he held office. But it is fairly certain that his term of service must have occurred at least as late as A.D. 308, for in l. 8 we have reference to the *praepositus* (*pagi*), an official whose presence in Egypt is not attested before that year (see A. E. R. Boak, "The Date of the Establishment of the Office of the Praepositus Pagi in Egypt," *Mélanges Maspero* (Cairo, 1934), II, 125-129). It is rather surprising to find mention of one komarch only, since the komarchy was a collegiate office regularly held by two or more persons at the same time (Oertel *Liturgie* 154). However, the mention of Pelenios alone does not justify the assumption that he had no colleagues.

There are three distinct parts to the text. The first (ll. 1-7) consists of a list of *μερισμοί* or tax quotas of the village of Karanis; the second (ll. 8-11) is a comment on the method of distributing the quotas; the third (l. 13) is a single line recording an amount of barley.

As a technical term in the vocabulary of tax officials, and this is what we have to consider here, *μερισμός* means either (1) a partial payment of a tax or (2) the tax quota assigned to a community or individuals (cf. Preisigke *Wörterbuch s.v. μερισμός*, Bd. II 71, Bd. III 243). From the tenor of ll. 8-11 we may see that we do not have to do with payments but rather with the assignment of tax quotas, so that here *μερισμός* must have the second of the meanings given above. We have, therefore, five successive tax assignments falling in the komarchy of Pelenios and listed here in numerical order. There is nothing to indicate what interval or intervals separated these assignments, nor can we say that we have the complete record for a year. All we know is that they came within the supposedly annual term of office of one particular komarch. Nevertheless, this sequence of *merismoι* calls to mind the monthly assignment of tax quotas by the komarchs in *B. G. U.* 21, I, 11 of the fourth century. From the words *μερισμοί κώμης Καρανίδος* of l. 1, it seems clear that the quotas mentioned here are assignments made to the village as a whole, and not to any particular person, although the latter interpretation would suit much better the tenor of the statement in ll. 8-11.

Of the five quotas, the first three are stated in terms of money only; the fourth is a levy of wheat; and the fifth, apparently, a levy of money and vegetables, for there is no other obvious interpretation of l. 7 except as a supplement to the money quota in l. 6. The levying of quotas in crops as well as in money leads one to suspect that the monetary assessments are really commutations for quotas in grain at a rate fixed by governmental authority as in No. 4, below. In that case we have to do with quotas of the regular land tax (*jugatio*) or a special levy on the land. Since the total of the quotas is not very large — 224 T. 2000 dr., 7 artabas of wheat, and 7 artabas of peas, beans, and vetch — it is hardly likely that the tax in question is the *jugatio*, unless these sums represent only a fraction of the total levy on Karanis.

We now come to consider the second part of the document (ll. 8-11) which contains a rather surprising statement. This is to the effect that the komarchs, acting in collusion with the *praepositus*, apportion the tax quotas arbitrarily without regard to any regular principles of allocation. Such a statement can only be taken as a criticism of the actions of the komarchs and this makes one wonder why it is appended to a list of tax quotas assigned to the whole village for reallocation to individuals by the komarchs. One would expect a complaint of this sort to follow a series of quotas assigned to the complainant himself. Furthermore, it is hard to account for the presence of a document containing this criticism among the papers of Aurelios Isidoros who in different years performed the functions of grain collector and komarch of Karanis, as we know from other documents.

Little is known of the activities of the *praepositi pagi* in connection with the collection of taxes, except that they served as subordinates of the *exactor civitatis* who was in charge of the raising of all taxes within the territory of his municipality, and functioned particularly for the rural areas (U. Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyrusurkunden* (Leipzig, 1912), I, 229-230). In this capacity, the *praepositus* was the superior of the local komarchs who were appointed with his approval (Boak *op. cit.* 126). It was inevitable, therefore, that the komarchs should act in close coöperation with the *praepositus* and that their apportionment of the village tax quotas should be subject to his inspection. This will explain the possibilities of collusion between these two authorities. The duty of the komarchs to apportion

the *merismoï* was known already from *B. G. U.* 21, I, 11 where a college of komarchs attest that they *μεμερίσθαι τοὺς ἐξῆς ἐγγεγραμμένους μερίσμοις ἐφ' ἑκάστου μηνός*.

Not very much can be made of the other charges which are of a negative character. They amount to this, that the komarchs do not apply any regular principles in the apportionment of the quotas. Specifically, they do not take into account differences in income or some other distinction which depends upon the restoration of the damaged word in l. 8; they do not coöperate with a secretary, or make use of the lot, or of common justice (l. 9). Just what secretary is referred to here, is not very obvious. The *komogrammateus* or village secretary, like the *basilikos grammateus* or nome secretary, was no longer in existence in the fourth century (see the references in Preisigke *Wörterbuch* III, 8, s.v. *γραμματεὺς*). Later on, in the sixth century, there were secretaries of villages or groups of villages (*loc. cit.*), and it is possible that even after the office of *komogrammateus* had been officially abolished, secretaries were employed to aid the komarchs in the performance of their duties. Such a secretary would keep lists that would bring order and regularity into the assignment of tax quotas, and thus it would be deserving of criticism if the komarchs neglected to make use of such a check upon arbitrary allocations.

The third part of the document, the single line (l. 12) recording the amount of 92 artabas 9 metra of barley measured by the 12 choinix measure, does not seem to bear any direct relation to what precedes it. We should naturally expect it to have something to do with the tax quotas and perhaps it has. It may be that this was the quota assigned to the individual who wrote the criticism of the methods used by the komarchs, but this is mere conjecture.

II

ACCOUNTS OF THE SITOLOGOI

No. 4

A Report of Grain Collections

Cairo, *Journal d'entrée*, No. 57030B

A.D. 312

The following text comprises the last two columns of an account written in four columns, of which the first two are so badly damaged

as to render uncertain the character of the document as a whole and to require much further study before they are ready for publication. The separate publication of this part of the account seems justified in view of the information which it gives and the problems which it raises regarding the practically unknown levy called the *πιστικίον*. Fortunately, the right half of the rather large papyrus, which as a whole measures 51 x 25 cm., is in much better condition than the left, and the writing there has suffered little damage. Nevertheless, owing to the extremely cursive character of the first hand, the reader encounters some serious difficulties. In order to avoid confusion in future references to this text, I have added the letter B to the catalogue number and designated the two columns published here as III and IV, and have given the lines the numbers which they have in the document as a whole, so that Col. III begins with line 39.

Col. III

- εἰς δὲ λόγον πιστικίον(υ)
 40 Πασίωνι καὶ Νιλίῳ ἀμφοτέροις ἀποδέκταις
 πιστικίον(υ) ἀκολούθως ἀποχαῖς πιστικίον(υ)
 νεαροῦ λί(τραι) 'Βων αἷ εἰσι (ἀρτάβαι) κηL'
 Πασίωνι καὶ Σαραπίῳ ὁμοίως ἀποδέκταις πιστικίον
 λί(τραι) 'Δτοη, ὡς τῶ(ν) λι(τρῶν) οε πα(ρὰ) (ἀρτάβην) α, (ἀρτά-
 βαι) νηγκδ
 45 Πασίωνι μόνῳ <ἀποδέκτη> πιστικίον(υ) λί(τραι) φιε οἷ εἰσι <δ>μο-
 <ι>ως (ἀρτάβαι) 5L κδ
 γίν(ονται) εἰς λόγον πιστικίον(υ) (ἀρτάβαι) ϣγδ'. τούτων ἐν
 π. . [. .] (ἀρτάβαι) 'Δτνζ
 καὶ ὁ ἐκ τ . . . σ⁻ ἐπὶ τὴν το(ῦ) νομο(ῦ) δημοσίαν τράπεζαν
 κατὰ τὰ κεκελευσμένα ἀπὸ τε τοῦ ἐν ἀποθέτῳ καὶ
 ἐν ἐχθέσι ιθ (ἔτους) καὶ ζ (ἔτους) Φαρμούθι, ὑπὲρ ἀργυρίου
 50 (τάλαντα) ξε ὡς τοῦ μοδ(ίου) καστ(ρησίου) (δηνάρια) ρ, (ἀρτάβαι)
 σ ϣ ζ L ιβ
 ἀπὸ τε τοῦ ἐν ἀποθέτῳ (ἀρτάβαι) σε ε], ἀπὸ τοῦ
 ἐν ἐχθέσι (ἀρτάβαι) ϣβς''.
 γιν(όνται) ὁμοῦ παραδόσεως καὶ ἐκ τι(μῆσεως) (ἀρτάβαι) 'Δχνδ L ιβ
 ὦν κωμητῶν (ἀρτάβαι) 'Δκβδ', πολιτῶν (ἀρτάβαι) χλβ.

- 55 κριθῆς ὁμοίως παραδεδομένων Ἀφροδισίῳ καὶ
 Πλακίτωνι ἀποδέκτηις Καρανίδος (ἀρτάβαι) Ὑρπβεῖ'
 Εὐλογίῳ ἀποδέκτηι Κερκῇ κατὰ μέρος ἐξ ἀποχωρῶν
 αὐτοῦ (ἀρτάβαι) Ἀιεῖβ
 Κυρίλλῳ καὶ Ὀρίωνι ἀποδ(έκτηις) πόλεως ὁμοί(ως) (ἀρτάβαι) τλβεῖ'
 60 γίν(ονται) παραδόσ(εως) κριθῆς (ἀρτάβαι) Ὑφλαγιβ
 ὦν
 κωμητῶν (ἀρτάβαι) Ὑρϥεῖκδ
 πολιτῶν (ἀρτάβαι) τλεῖκδ.

Col. IV

- λοιπ(αί) ἐν τῷ ἐξῆς λό(γω) οὕ(τως)
 65 ἐν ἐκθέσει κωμητῶν
 ἀπὸ γενή(ματος) ις (ἔτους) καὶ ε (ἔτους) καὶ γ (ἔτους) <καὶ> α
 (ἔτους)
 σίτου (ἀρτάβαι) φελ'
 κριθῆς (ἀρτάβαι) φ . . L'
 2nd hand ὑπατείας τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν
 70 Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Λικιννίου Σεβαστῶν
 τὸ β' Χοίακ η
 3rd hand Αὐρήλιοι Ἀντώνιος καὶ Ἰσίδωρος
 καὶ Οὐεναφρεῶς καὶ Ἀρπαλος καὶ οἱ
 κοῖνονοι ἐπιδεδώκαμεν ὡς
 75 πρόκειται. Αὐρήλιος Ἰσίων Πλανίου
 ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀγραμμά(των).
 44. ὡς τῷ(ν) λι(τρῶν) οε πα(ρά) (ἀρτάβην) α: τῷ(ν) and πα(ρά) are so
 carelessly formed as to be almost illegible. They were suggested
 by Bell, who points out that παρὰ ἀρτάβην in the sense of "per
 artaba" may lack precedent, and I have adopted them as both
 possible and logical readings. Skeat has proposed πα(λαιοῦ) for
 πα(ρά), in contrast to the νεαροῦ of l. 42, but this seems to me
 unlikely since old grain is lighter and not heavier than new, and
 νεαρόν is the only term applied to πιστίκιον in the receipts to be
 cited below.
 45. οῖ: read αῖ.
 <ὀ>μο(ί)ως: Guéraud ὁμο(οίως) "very dubious"; Bell <ὀ>μοίως (?).

The initial σ appears to me to be omitted and I cannot see the ι before ω , but the other letters seem reasonably certain.

46. $\Theta\gamma d'$: this should be the sum of ll. 42, 44, 45 = $93 \frac{1}{3} \frac{1}{12}$ artabas instead of $93 \frac{1}{4}$.
 $\epsilon\nu \pi . . [.]$ ($\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\acute{\alpha}\beta\alpha\iota$): the letters immediately following π are extremely doubtful, and only a small trace of the artaba sign remains. $\epsilon\nu \pi\alpha\rho[\acute{\alpha}\delta(οσι)]$ might be possible.
47. $\delta \acute{\epsilon}\kappa \tau . . . \sigma^-$: Bell's suggestion, $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa \tau\iota\mu\acute{\eta}\sigma(εως)$, is probably right, but I cannot vouch for any of the letters between τ and σ^- . With δ , sc. $\sigma\acute{\iota}\tau\omicron\varsigma$.
49. $\iota\theta$ ($\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$) καὶ ζ ($\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$): i.e. of Galerius and Maximinus = A.D. 311/312.
 $\acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon$: Bell. The letters are all there but carelessly formed.
52. ($\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\acute{\alpha}\beta\alpha\iota$) $\Theta\beta\varsigma''$: the uncertain symbol following ς'' ($= \frac{1}{6}$) somewhat resembles η ($= \frac{1}{8}$) but it is quite superfluous in the accounting, and since it has no numeral sign probably was not intended as a fraction. In any case, the clerk appears to have made a mistake in his arithmetic. The total given in l. 50, $297 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{12}$ artabas, should be the sum of the amounts in ll. 51 and 52, $205 \frac{3}{4}$ and $92 \frac{1}{6}$, respectively. But these work out to $297 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{3} \frac{1}{12}$, which is $\frac{1}{3}$ too high. If we could read $297 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{3} \frac{1}{12}$ in l. 50, the difficulty would be solved.
53. $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa \tau\iota(\mu\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\omega\varsigma)$: suggested somewhat tentatively by Bell, and quite possible. Cf. l. 47 above.
54. $\chi\lambda\beta$: the fraction sign is very uncertain. The full amount should be the difference between the $4654 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{12}$ of l. 53 and the $4022 \frac{1}{4}$ of the first part of l. 54, or $632 \frac{1}{3}$. But the fraction sign looks more like $\omega = \frac{2}{3}$.
55. $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\delta\epsilon\delta\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\upsilon$: for $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\delta\epsilon\delta\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\varsigma$.
56. $\Pi\lambda\alpha\kappa\acute{\iota}\tau\omega\upsilon$: possibly $\Pi\epsilon\acute{\epsilon}\iota\tau\omega\upsilon$. The letters following Π are very carelessly written and hard to identify. $\Pi\alpha\kappa\acute{\iota}\tau\omega\upsilon$ could also be read.
57. $\acute{\epsilon}\xi \acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\chi\acute{\omega}\nu$: so Bell and Guéraud.
59. $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\delta(\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\tau\alpha\iota\varsigma) \pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\epsilon\omega\varsigma$: Guéraud for my original reading $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\delta\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\tau\alpha\iota\varsigma$.
60. The sum here should be the total of those in ll. 56, 58 and 59, namely $3531 \frac{1}{2}$ artabas, which is likewise the total of the amounts in ll. 61 and 62, but it is $3531 \frac{1}{3} \frac{1}{2}$ artabas or $\frac{1}{3}$ artaba

too high. The discrepancy could be explained if we suppose that $\bar{\gamma}$ had been omitted after $\bar{\Lambda}$ in l. 58 and either in l. 61 or 62. A similar difficulty with the fraction $\frac{1}{3}$ occurs above in l. 50.

63. $\tau\lambda\epsilon\bar{\Lambda}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\delta}$.: following $\bar{\kappa}\bar{\delta}$ is a symbol or abbreviation resembling that at the end of the numeral in l. 52. Guéraud very hesitatingly suggests that it be read $\sigma\epsilon\sigma(\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\omega\mu\alpha\iota)$, but there does not seem to be any reason for inserting such a term in an account like this.
64. $\epsilon\bar{\nu}\tau\bar{\omega}\bar{\xi}\bar{\xi}\bar{\eta}\bar{s}$ $\lambda\acute{o}(\gamma\omega)$ $\rho\bar{\upsilon}(\tau\omega\varsigma)$: I have adopted as plausible Bell's solution which agrees substantially with the individual letters as read by Guéraud: $\epsilon . . \rho\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\xi}\bar{\eta}\bar{s}\tau\bar{\rho}\bar{\pi}\bar{o}\bar{\nu}$. The fragment of the letter after ϵ could be the left stroke of ν ; the third letter is quite illegible; ρ looks more like σ than ω ; but could be a scribal error for φ ; $\epsilon\bar{\xi}\bar{\eta}\bar{s}$ seems sure; τ^o could equally well be λ^o ; I cannot see any trace of π ; $\sigma\bar{\nu}$ appear certain.
66. $\iota\zeta$ ($\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$) $\kappa\alpha\iota$ ϵ ($\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$) $\kappa\alpha\iota$ γ ($\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$) $\langle\kappa\alpha\iota\rangle$ α ($\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$): i.e. of Galerius, Maximinus, Constantine I and Licinius = A.D. 309/310. Cf. l. 49, where the regnal years of only the first two of the four are given.
68. $\phi . . \bar{\Lambda}'$: the two letters after ϕ are so badly rubbed that attempts at reading would be too conjectural.
- 69-71. The date is 5 December 312.
73. $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\omicron\iota$.: I have adopted Bell's reading, although the $\kappa\alpha\iota$ is almost unrecognizable.
 Οὔνεναφρεῶς for Ουενάφριος = Venafrius.
 $\kappa\omicron\iota\mu\omicron\nu\omicron\iota$.: read $\kappa\omicron\iota\mu\omega\nu\omicron\iota$.

Translation

Col. III

And for the *pistikion* account

To Pasion and Nilion both receivers of *pistikion* according to receipts for new *pistikion*, 2850 lbs., which are $28\frac{1}{2}$ artabas.

To Pasion and Serapion also receivers of *pistikion*, 4378 lbs. (making) at 75 lbs. to the artaba, $58\frac{1}{3}\frac{1}{24}$ artabas.

To Pasion alone (receiver) of *pistikion* 515 lbs., which are $6\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{24}$ artabas.

Total for the *pistikion* account $93\frac{1}{4}$ artabas.

Of those in - - - 4357 artabas.

And the wheat under evaluation at the public bank of the nome according to orders from what is in storage and in arrears for the nineteenth and seventh year in Pharmouthi, to the amount of 65 talents at the rate of 100 denarii for the *modius castrensis*, $297\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{12}$ artabas:

namely, from that in storage, $205\frac{3}{4}$ artabas

from that in arrears, $92\frac{1}{6}$ artabas.

Total from delivery and from evaluation $4654\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{12}$ artabas,
of which (the amount) from villagers is $4022\frac{1}{4}$,

from metropolitans, 632 artabas.

Likewise of barley delivered to Aphrodisios and Plakiton, receivers of Karanis, $2182\frac{3}{4}$ artabas.

To Eulogios, receiver of Kerke, in part according to his receipts, $1015\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{12}$ artabas.

To Cyrillos and Horion, also receivers of the metropolis, $332\frac{3}{4}$ artabas.

Total of the delivery of barley $3531\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{12}$ artabas. Of which (the amount) from villagers is $3195\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{24}$, from metropolitans, $335\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{24}$ artabas.

Col. IV

Remainder in the continued account as follows:

In arrears from the villagers from the crop of the 17th and 5th and 3rd and 1st years,

wheat $505\frac{1}{2}$ artabas

barley $5\frac{1}{2}$ artabas.

2nd hand

The second consulship of our lords Constantine and Licinius, Augusti, Choiak 8.

3rd hand

We, Aurelios Antonios and Aurelios Isidoros and Aurelios Ouenaphreos and Aurelios Harpalos and our associates have made delivery as aforesaid.

I, Aurelios Ision, son of Planios, have written for them as they are illiterate.

The portion of the whole account included in the text before us comprises the following separate elements.

- I. Lines 39-46 middle, a *pistikion* account.
- II. The rest of line 46, a total to be carried forward.
- III. Lines 47-54, the conclusion of the general wheat account.
- IV. Lines 55-63, a barley account.
- V. Lines 64-68, an account of arrears.
- VI. Lines 69-71, the date of the presentation of the account.
- VII. Lines 72-76, the declaration of those who prepared the account.

Unfortunately, the name and title of the official or officials to whom the account was presented are unknown and the title of the account itself seems damaged beyond hope of restoration. From lines 72-74, however, we gain some information about those who drew up the record. Here we have the names of four men, Antonios, Isidoros, Ouenaphreos, and Harpalos, and reference to their associates (*κοινωνοί*). The first two of these are known from another document in the Isidoros archive to have been collectors of grain taxes (*σιτολόγοι*) at Karanis for the 17th year = A.D. 308/309. We also know that Isidoros held the same office for the following year and had two colleagues whose names do not appear in above list. Since the account deals with grain collected or in arrears for the 17th (l. 66) and 19th years (l. 49), we may safely conclude that the four persons who made the declaration did so in their capacity as *sitologoi* or *ex-sitologoi*, since their term of office may have lapsed before they submitted their report in A.D. 312.

Included in their report is an account of wheat collected under the name of *πιστικιον* (ll. 39-46 mid.). So far as I am aware, this term does not appear elsewhere in Greek literature, except in two other documents found by the writer among the papers of Isidoros and referred to above in connection with the identification of Isidoros as a *sitologos* in A.D. 308/309 and 309/310. These are two receipts issued in the year 309 by receivers of *pistikion* (*ἀποδέκται πιστικίου*) to *sitologoi* of Karanis. They have been published in *Études de Papyrologie* V pp. 102-04 as nos. 24 and 25 of the series *Early Byzantine Papyri from the Cairo Museum* by A. E. R. Boak (= P. Boak, 24 and 25). From

these receipts and the present account we see that the *pistikion* was wheat collected as a special tax by the *sitologoi* and turned over to officials specifically designated to receive it. It appears, then, as a regular and not an extraordinary levy. A peculiarity of the *pistikion* is that its amounts were calculated in pounds (λίτραι) and not in artabas, i.e. by weight and not by volume. The report provides rates for converting the pounds into artabas, but the receipts mention pounds only. Sometimes the *pistikion* is described as νεαρόν, "fresh" (l. 42 and P. Boak 25. 6) but not uniformly so. This probably means freshly harvested wheat.

The word πιστίκιον is difficult to interpret, in view of the lack of evidence regarding the purpose for which the wheat levied under this head was collected. Its closest connection seems to be with πιστικός, which appears in the fifth century as the title of subordinate officials and in the sixth as that of shipmasters engaged in transporting government corn (cf. Preisigke *Wörterbuch s.v.*). Dr. Bell suggests that πιστίκιον possibly is equivalent to ὁ πιστικός σῆτος, and that this means grain levied for the *annona* as distinct from what was raised for other purposes and that which could be converted into a money payment or used as the equivalent of a tax levied in money. If this were the right explanation, the *pistikion* could be grain destined for the πιστικοί, but the difficulty still remains that we have no evidence for the latter in the fourth century. The hypothesis that *pistikion* is grain for the *annona* gives no explanation of its being reckoned by weight rather than by volume.

Another problem is raised by the use of three different standards for transposing *litrai* into artabas. In line 43, we have 2850 *litrai* = 28½ artabas. This gives 100 *litrai* to the artaba, which corresponds to the ἀρτάβη μέτρῳ δημοσίῳ of 48 choenikes = 100 Alexandrian *litrai* (Segrè *Metrologia* 35). Line 44 gives us the ratio of 75 *litrai* to the artaba, or 4378 *litrai* = 58⅓ ¼ (more correctly ⅕) artabas. There is no other authority for an artaba of 75 lbs., but Segrè's table cited above equates the ἀρτάβη μέτρῳ δημοσίῳ with 74⅝ Roman lbs. If, however, the Alexandrian standard is used in the first instance, it seems strange that the Roman should be employed in the second. But the fact that the conversion rate is specifically stated shows that the case was exceptional and that an explanation was required. The

third computation, in line 45, makes 515 *litrai* = $6\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{24}$ artabas. This is at the rate of $78\frac{114}{157}$ lbs. to the artaba, which does not correspond to any known standard.

There is an interesting relation between the entries in this account and the two *pistikion* receipts. The later of these (P. Boak 25) was issued by Pasion and Nilion, the receivers mentioned in line 40, to Isidoros and his colleagues Kopres and Neas for 1950 *litrai* of πιστίκιον νε<α>ρόν. This may have been part of the amount of 2850 *litrai* mentioned in line 42. The earlier receipt (P. Boak 24) was given by Pasion and Sarapion, who appear in line 43, to Antonios and Isidoros for 750 *litrai*, probably a portion of the total of 4358 *litrai* in line 44.

It is perhaps worth noting that the *pistikion* was paid in wheat and not in barley, and for this reason it forms a subdivision of the general wheat account. But its total of $93\frac{1}{4}$ ($93\frac{1}{3}\frac{1}{2}$) artabas forms only a very small fraction of the amount of wheat collected for all purposes by the *sitologoi*.

The sum of 4357 artabas which appears at the end of line 46 is a total of the various items entered thus far in the wheat account. Fortunately, the total at the end of Col. II can be read. This is 'Δσξγδ' or $4263\frac{1}{4}$ artabas. Adding the $93\frac{1}{4}$ artabas of the *pistikion* account we have a new total of $4356\frac{1}{2}$ artabas which is just $\frac{1}{2}$ artaba less than the 4357 of the text. Owing to the illegibility of the word preceding the number in line 46, we do not know how the clerk meant to classify this sum.

We now come to a new rubric, lines 47-54, which gives the rest of the wheat account. Here the first entry is wheat which had been handed over to the public bank of the Arsinoite nome in accordance with instructions at a definite evaluation (τίμησις, *adaeratio*). This was made up in part of what had been held in storage (ἀπό τε τοῦ ἐν ἀποθέτῳ, l. 48), and in part from the arrears paid (?) in the month Pharmouthi of the 19th year = A.D. 311/312 (καὶ ἐν ἐχθέσι κτλ. l. 49). The evaluation was at the rate of 100 denarii for the *modius castrensis*, giving a total of 63 talents for $297\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{12}$ artabas (l. 50). The *modius castrensis* which was the unit of measurement for this calculation in place of the artaba, is the same as that used for determining the price of grain in Diocletian's Edict of Prices of A.D. 301. This edict (*Edictum de pretiis rerum venalium*, ed. Mommsen, I, 1) fixes the price of the

modius castrensis at 100 denarii which is the rate recorded in our text. We see, then, that the official price of wheat fixed by the Edict in 301 was still effective in Egypt as late as 312, in spite of the intervening decline in the value of the denarius after 307 (cf. Mickwitz *Geld und Wirtschaft* 99). If we divide the 65 T. = 390,000 dr. by $297\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}$ we obtain a price of 1310.5 dr. per artaba, which is strikingly less than the 10,000 dr. of A.D. 314 (see the commentary on No. 2 above). Since a denarius passed for 4 dr. (*op. cit.* 98), the *modius castrensis* was valued at 400 dr., which makes the price of the artaba about three and a third times that of the *modius*. Accordingly, 1 artaba would equal approximately $3\frac{1}{3}$ *modii castrenses*. This justifies the equation of the *modius castrensis* with the $\mu\acute{o}\delta\iota\omicron\varsigma \xi\upsilon\sigma\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ or "level" *modius*, which stood to the artaba in the relation of $3\frac{1}{3}:1$ (*Greek Papyri in the British Museum* V (London, 1917) = P. Lond. p. 156; Segrè *Metrologia* 37)..

After giving the total of the evaluated wheat, the clerk proceeds to indicate the portions of it derived respectively from what had been held in storage ($\epsilon\nu \acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\theta\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omega$) and what was collected as arrears ($\epsilon\nu \acute{\epsilon}\chi\theta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\iota$). That taken from storage amounted to $205\frac{3}{4}$ artabas (l. 51); the arrears to $92\frac{1}{8}$ artabas (l. 52); giving a total of $297\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{2}$ (l. 50, note). This sum is then added to the 4357 artabas of line 46, giving the grand total of $4654\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}$ artabas (l. 53). The final step was to list the amounts contributed towards this by two classes of landholders, the villagers and the citizens of Arsinoe or other metropolitan cities who had holdings in the area of Karanis. Examples of holdings of this sort are found in the land which Aurelios Isidoros rented from Aurelios Nemesinos, a councillor of Arsinoe, in A.D. 296 (P. Boak 13), and in another plot which he held from a woman, Aurelia Serenilla, of Antinoopolis in A.D. 300 (P. Boak 4). The share contributed by villagers amounted to $4024\frac{1}{4}$ artabas, that of the citizens to $632\frac{1}{3}$ (l. 54 and note). Assuming that the taxes were assessed against the landholders and not against their tenants, these amounts indicate that the wheat land under local ownership was over six times as much as that owned by non-resident proprietors from the cities.

The wheat account which fills the greater part of Col. III, i.e., lines 39-54, is followed by a much shorter barley account that occupies only lines 55-63. It contains entries of three amounts of barley delivered to various receivers ($\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\delta\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\tau\alpha\iota$) who are designated by the locali-

ties for which they officiated and not by their association with any particular tax.

The first entry records the amount delivered to Aphrodios and Plakiton, receivers of Karanis, $2182 \frac{3}{4}$ artabas (l. 56); the second gives that delivered to Eulogios, receiver of Kerke, $1015 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2}$ artabas (ll. 57-58); and the third that turned over to Kurillos and Horion, receivers of the city (Arsinoe), $232 \frac{3}{4}$ artabas (l. 59). We know of no village of Kerke in the Fayûm, and the reference must be to the village of that name in the adjacent Memphite nome which had a harbor and was connected with the Fayûm by a direct road (*Papiri della Società Italiana* V (Florence, 1917), 537 n.). A plausible explanation of the delivery of barley to the tax receiver of Kerke is that the *sitologoi* had been ordered to undertake the transport of the grain to this port for shipment to Alexandria. The amount of barley recorded as delivered to Eulogios is described by the phrase *κατὰ μέρος ἐξ ἀποχῶν αὐτοῦ*. This seems to mean "in part according to his receipts," i.e., partly computed on the basis of receipts given by him to the *sitologoi*. But it should all have been computed on this basis like the *pistikion* in line 41 where the phrase is *ἀκολουθῶς ταῖς ἀποχαῖς*.

The total of the deliveries of barley was $3531 \frac{1}{3} \frac{1}{2}$ artabas (l. 60 and note). As in the case of the sum total of wheat, this was divided into the respective contributions of villagers and citizens. The former contributed $3195 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{24}$ (l. 62); the latter $335 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{24}$ (l. 63). Here the share of the villagers was over nine times that of the citizens, an even larger proportion than in the case of the taxes paid in wheat. The total of the payments in wheat, $4654 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2}$ artabas, is considerably larger than the total of the barley deliveries, and indicates that the land sown in wheat was over 1.3 times that sown in barley.

There is a close similarity between the sum of $332 \frac{3}{4}$ artabas of barley delivered to the receivers for the city (l. 59), and that of $335 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{24}$ artabas paid by citizens (l. 63). It does not seem, however, that the two sums were identical, since, in spite of the fact that symbols for the last whole numbers in lines 62 and 63 are considerably abraded, it is utterly impossible to read $\Gamma\rho\vartheta\eta\overline{\text{L}\kappa\delta} = 3198 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{24}$ in line 62 and $\tau\lambda\beta\epsilon] = 332 \frac{3}{4}$ in line 63, for the fractions are quite certain. Nevertheless, the approximation of the two sums is too close to be accidental and we may well infer that the regular procedure was to turn over

to the ἀποδέκται πόλεως the amount collected from the lands of metropolitan proprietors.

The first five lines of Col. IV (ll. 64-68) are taken up with a report of arrears due from villagers for the 17th year = A.D. 309/310. This includes both wheat and barley; the former to the amount of 505 ½ artabas, and the latter to more than 500 artabas, although the numbers cannot all be read. This concludes the report proper.

The report bears the date of 5 December 312. This is to say, it was presented in the 20th year which began on 29 August 312. Accordingly, it must have been a report upon grain collections from the crop of the 19th year (cf. l. 49) which was harvested in the spring and early summer of 312, together with such arrears as were carried on the books of the *sitologoi* from earlier harvests.

A HEAD OF SARAPIS FROM CORINTH

BY THOMAS A. BRADY

ABOUT thirty-five years ago Amelung, after a study of all the literary sources, described the type of the cult statue of Sarapis in the Serapeum at Alexandria.¹ He attributed the fabrication of the statue to the celebrated sculptor Bryaxis. After listing and discussing some thirty-five or forty heads and statues of Sarapis, many of which must have reproduced the type and posture of the statue at Alexandria, Amelung made the following statement: "Nous sommes assez riches en documents pour pouvoir dès maintenant affirmer que des découvertes ultérieures ne modifieront guère nos conclusions."² It is only because later discoveries have revealed evidence of whose existence Amelung could not know, that I reopen some phases of this subject to investigation. As far as much of the evidence is concerned, I can do no better than repeat and recapitulate some of Amelung's findings.

According to Clement of Alexandria, Athenodorus described the making of the statue "by the artist Bryaxis — not the Athenian, but another of the same name, who used a mixture of various materials in its construction. He used filings of gold, silver, bronze, iron, lead, and even tin; and not a single Egyptian stone was lacking, there being pieces of sapphire, hematite, emerald, and topaz as well. Having reduced them all to powder and mixed them, he stained the mixture dark blue (on account of which the color of the statue is nearly black), and, mingling the whole with the pigment left over from the funeral rites of Osiris and Apis, he moulded Sarapis."³

This procedure is a bit baffling but Origen says that according to Numenius the Pythagorean these various elements were purposely mixed in the deity so that it might appear that no mere sculptor had made the image unassisted by magic, drugs, and charms.⁴ Gregory

¹ "Le Sarapis de Bryaxis," *Rev. Arch.*, IV, Sér. II (1903) 177-204.

² *Op. cit.*, 188.

³ *Protrept.* IV, 43P (Loeb Library) = IV, 48 (Dindorf) = Hopfner, *Fontes historiae religionis Aegyptiacae*, 89.

⁴ *Contra Cels.* V 38 = Hopfner, 386.

Nazianzen refers to Sarapis as being wood,¹ and Rufinus says the statue was of metal and wood: "quod monstrum ex omnibus generibus metallorum lignorumque compositum ferebatur."² Rufinus also says that the entire statue became a prey of the flames when it was destroyed,³ while Theodoret calls the statue wooden and says that it emitted a hollow sound when struck.⁴

The statue of Apollo at Daphne near Antioch, we know, was of gilded wood with the nude parts ungilded. "His hair and his crown of laurel which merged together were all in brilliant gold," and two violet stones were set in the eyes.⁵ Here is a similar use of metallic color and precious stones in a statue also attributed to Bryaxis.⁶ As Amelung remarks, the statue of Sarapis was probably made of wood, with a layer of metal covering a wooden case. If Bryaxis made these statues, he must have been reviving an older technique for making colossal statues,⁷ but we should expect him, in a period of eastern tastes and influences, to make some contributions of his own in working out the details. There is, as Egger notes, no real evidence for the existence of any Bryaxis other than the great contemporary of Scopas.⁸

Amelung remarks that the "blue-black" color of the statue of Sarapis was a peculiar characteristic of infernal deities⁹ and points to statues of Sarapis in black stone which are known to us.¹⁰ Of course,

¹ *Carm.* II 7 (*ad Nemesian.*), 270 = Hopfner, 570.

² *Hist. eccles.* XI 23 = Hopfner, 627.

³ *Op. cit.* XI 23 = Hopfner, 628.

⁴ *Hist. eccles.* V 22. 2-4: *ξύλινος γὰρ ἦν* = Hopfner, 668.

⁵ Amelung, *Rev. Arch.* IV (1903), 187. See especially M. Egger, "Bryaxis et l'Apollon de Daphné d'après un fragment nouveau de Philostorge," *REG* II (1889) 102-106. Amelung quotes Egger's translation. For the text, see *REG* II 104.

⁶ The attribution is made by Cedrenos (p. 536 Bonn).

⁷ Collignon, *Histoire de la Sculpture Grecque*, II 308.

⁸ *REG* II 105-106.

⁹ This point was first made by Ernst Kroker, *Gleichnamige Griechische Künstler*, Leipzig, 1883, Anhang 20-22. He thinks the statue an old one of Rhakotis, done in the Egyptian manner. He thinks the use of metals and the dark color are simply Egyptian methods of indicating an underworld divinity. I believe all such theories are wrong because they ignore the many traditions which said the cult statue was Greek.

¹⁰ There are many, especially in Egypt; e.g., the colossal head in black basalt in the Alexandria Museum, No. 3914: Breccia, *Alexandria ad Aegyptum* (English ed. 1922) 217.

black stone was used in the Hellenistic Age in Egypt as it had always been used there for statues. Other references he makes to the use of black for the faces of gods certainly do not point to any general practice.¹ Amelung himself notes: "The color of the whole was a blackish-blue; to render visible at least certain details in the semi-darkness of the cella, it was evidently necessary to heighten them by a clearer coloration: the eyes were certainly white with pupils set in precious stones; the modius was of a light color which made the olive trees in relief stand out on the somber background. The ears of grain were of dull gold. . . ." ² And yet, on this theory, the face would be almost black and the god's expression would be lost.

On the basis of certain heads of Sarapis which retain unmistakable traces of gilding on the face as well as on the beard and hair, I believe that the head of this statue in Alexandria was surfaced with gold, or perhaps was only gilded, though it seems likely that the metal itself would have been used on such a figure.

I was led to make this investigation of the coloring employed on heads of statues of Sarapis by the discovery of a head at Corinth by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.³ This head, which I was able to study in 1937, shows, beside various small traces on the beard and hair, a large patch of gilding on the bridge of the nose and the forehead.⁴ When found, the head was lying so that this patch of gilding was protected; in fact, it was detached from the head and lying with the worked surface down. It is also clear from a study of this head that a red sizing was used before applying the gilt to the stone.⁵ This red, which is frequently an indication of gilding, must be what

¹ *Op. cit.* 187, he mentions Osiris and various Greek minor deities that were associated with sleep, death, or the underworld.

² *Op. cit.* 197.

³ My studies in Europe were made possible by a fellowship granted by the Guggenheim Foundation, and a leave of absence from the University of Missouri.

⁴ Charles H. Morgan II, "Excavations at Corinth 1936-37," *AJA* XLI (1937) 539-540. The head was found in the storeroom of Shop XX of the South Stoa in a thick burned deposit on the floor. Morgan says the head is "of careful second century A.D. workmanship." I wish to thank Director Morgan for allowing me to study the head, Professor Broneer with whom I discussed many of the problems involved, and Mrs. Broneer who secured me an excellent photograph of the piece.

⁵ Morgan does not mention the red coloring specifically in his report, but the traces are quite evident and plentiful.

Pliny refers to as a kind of rubrica used for this purpose.¹ In fact, Professor Shear has reported the finding of a small jar of this substance at Corinth and says that on chemical analysis it turned out to be sulphide of arsenic which he identifies with the ancient pigment known as sandarake.²

After studying this head, I began to look for traces of color on other heads of Sarapis. There is another head, this time of a marble statuette found earlier at Corinth, which Broneer described as follows: "It has clear traces of red paint on hair and beard as well as in the eyes, and other colors were probably applied over the red; certainly this was the case with the beard, on which traces of gold still remain."³ So far as this head shows, the gilding might have been limited to the beard, and perhaps the hair,⁴ but there are several other pieces in addition to the larger head from Corinth which show gilding on the face as well as on the hair and beard.

There are two pieces in the Alexandria Museum which retain plain traces of gold on the face of the god.⁵ One of these is a bust of Sarapis with modius which has many traces of gold on the face and beard.⁶

¹ *H.N.* XXXIII 20 mentions white of egg as used for this purpose. In XXXIII 36 (7), *minium* and its uses are discussed. The use of red sizing for gilt was not uncommon. This was precisely the method used on the gilded head of Dionysus from the sanctuary of the Syrian gods in Rome: Nicole-Darier, *Le Sanctuaire des dieux orientaux au Janicule*, pls. III-V; *REG* XXIII (1910) 189-190.

² T. L. Shear, "Color at Corinth," *AJA* XXXII (1928) 330-332. Shear gives many references from ancient writers concerning the red pigment, and notes that it appears on many pieces of sculpture from Corinth. He also suggests that certain kinds of this pigment must have been more durable and less easily weathered than others.

³ Oscar Broneer, "Area North of Basilica," *AJA* XXX (1926) 56-57. I have not seen this piece, and am grateful to Broneer for calling it to my attention. The prominence of Sarapis at Corinth is further indicated by his figure on lamps: Oscar Broneer, *Corinth*, IV, Part II, *Terracotta Lamps* (1930) p. 194, No. 604, Fig. 117; p. 206, No. 704, Fig. 140.

⁴ The nude parts of the Apollo at Daphne were not gilded: *REG* II (1889) 104.

⁵ I am grateful to Signor Adriani for his courtesy in allowing me to study these pieces.

⁶ Alexandria Museum No. 22158: *Bull. soc. roy. arch. Alex.*, n.s. VII (1931) 260-261, and pl. 26. It was found about a hundred meters northeast of Pompey's column. "Notevoli resti della doratura si osservano ancora sulle gote e sulla fronte." It is dated not much later than Hadrian.

The other is a very peculiar sitting statue of Sarapis made of wood. The statue lacks the left leg and appears to have been used as a chopping block. The drapery shows traces of color, red and black, and the face, hair, and beard, as well as the neck, have been covered with a white substance similar to plaster which was then gilded. There are abundant evidences of gilding on face, neck, hair, and beard, but no traces on any other part of the statue.¹

One may deduce from this evidence that traces of red on the face of heads of Sarapis will be an almost certain indication that the face was gilded at one time. These traces of red sizing can be found, sometimes with traces of gold as well, on a number of other heads of this deity.

In the Alexandria Museum, there is a piece which is the front part of a colossal head of Sarapis. This head was found on the site of the ancient Serapeum of Alexandria, now marked by the monument known popularly as "Pompey's Pillar." Breccia says of this head: "The numerous and evident traces of polychromy should be noticed (when the statue was discovered there were even some traces of gilding)."² There are still plain indications of red sizing on the hair and beard and traces on the face. There is another piece in this museum, a bust of Sarapis without modius, which has traces of red sizing on the hair, beard, and face.³ Usually, of course, the traces of color remain longer in the crevices of the hair and beard than they do on the smooth surface of the face.⁴

In the museum at Saloniki is an unpublished colossal head of Sarapis which I was able to see and am allowed to mention through the courtesy of the Curator, Ch. Makaronas. Concerning this head, I may say only that there are plain traces of red color on the hair and beard, but none were observed on the face.⁵

¹ Alexandria Museum No. 23352. Apparently this piece has not yet been published.

² Alexandria Museum No. 3912; Breccia, *Alexandreia ad Aegyptum*, No. 52 p. 216.

³ Alexandria Museum No. 23836. This piece like No. 23352 seems to be still unpublished. Both were found presumably in or near Alexandria.

⁴ This fact has been responsible, I believe, for the notion widely held that the usual practice was to gild only the hair and beard of statues.

⁵ Naturally, I have no photograph of this piece. It is to be hoped that this head along with other valuable pieces there will soon be published.

Another head of Sarapis, excavated recently at Stobi in Yugoslavia by Professor Petkovič, and published as a head of Poseidon, retained gold on the hair.¹ All of the pieces mentioned thus far have been found relatively recently, most of them by trained archaeologists who have taken great pains not to destroy evidences of coloring. None of them was known to Amelung when he wrote his paper on the types of Sarapis.²

Some pieces of sculpture in western Europe show traces of color and gilt. The colossal head of Sarapis from Carthage in the Louvre has quite plain traces of red color on the beard and hair.³ The so-called Zeus-Sarapis in the British Museum has faint traces of red in the creases of the beard. According to the former owner, "when found, 1775, the face was stained a deep red color. The first owners tried to remove this stain, but there is a strong shade still visible."⁴ I think we have here an explanation of the absence of color on many of the statues of Sarapis in the larger museums. Most of these pieces were discovered before the advent of modern archaeology and were well cleaned and restored before being placed in the gardens or museums of the private collectors.⁵

¹ V. Petkovič, Starinar, 1937 Godina. The title of the paper is "Antique Sculpture from Stobi." There is a résumé in German pp. 32-35. The head is published at p. 29, fig. 18. Professor Petkovič has written me that he is now quite sure that the piece is a head of Sarapis and not of Poseidon.

² As nearly as I can judge, the pieces from Alexandria which Amelung used were known to him only by photographs. Moreover, the pieces mentioned above have all been found since Amelung's paper was published: cf. Amelung's catalogue: *Rev. Arch.* IV (1903) 189-195.

³ Louvre Cat. No. 1830: *Catalogue sommaire des marbres antiques* (1922) p. 93. The provenience is given as Carthage and the item noted as the gift of Commandant Marchant. I was unable to see this head but have an excellent commercial photograph.

⁴ Cat. No. 1525: A. H. Smith, *Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Graeco-Roman Antiquities in the British Museum*, III p. 4. The item is from the Townley Collection and the quotation above is from the Townley MS. Smith refers to the use of "minium" on statues of Jupiter which Pliny mentions: *H.N.* XXXIII 36 (7). I do not see that the Roman practice of using color on statues of Jupiter has anything to do with the coloring of statues of Sarapis. Amelung knew this piece, *op. cit.* 194, but if he knew it had traces of color he does not mention the fact.

⁵ This is the reason, of course, that Amelung had not studied the coloring of the heads. The pieces he knew by sight had been "cleaned" and restored.

In the archaeological museum in Milan is a large head which Dütschke tentatively identified as Sarapis. The working of the hair and beard is indicative of Sarapis, but there is no modius nor any place for one. The band around the head is rather exceptional, I believe, on heads of Sarapis. In spite of some unusual features, the head resembles Sarapis very closely and has plain traces of red on the hair, beard, and face. Moreover, there are faint but unmistakable traces of gilt on the face, especially on the nose which at one time had been broken off from the head.¹ Another head in Italy shows traces of red sizing and gilt. It is in the museum of the Castle of Julius II at Ostia. I have not seen the piece but have had it described and photographed by a trained observer.²

I should like to note one other example. A head of Sarapis found in the Agora Excavations at Athens and published by the Director has a minute trace of red sizing just under the tip of the nose. The spot is so small that one would not see it, in all probability, unless he were looking for traces of color. My observation of it was verified, however, by Miss Talcott of the Agora staff. This spot has remained, I believe, because it is in such a location that it is protected from wearing and weathering.³

The evidence afforded by these thirteen pieces shows, I believe, that the gilding of the entire head of the statues of Sarapis was not a sporadic and local practice. Our examples come from Alexandria, Athens, Corinth, Saloniki, Yugoslavia, Italy, and Carthage.⁴ The gilded head may well have been regarded as a necessary characteristic of a statue of Sarapis so that colossal statues and small statuettes alike would follow the pattern. The prototype whose pose and fea-

¹ Museo Archeologico No. 218: H. Dütschke, *Bildwerke im Oberitalien*, No. 1013. The museum plaque identifies the head as "Giove — arte romana." One must admit that the working of the hair, beard, and moustache are not orthodox.

² I have no information on the history of this piece. Mr. Chester Starr, of the University of Illinois, described and photographed it for me.

³ T. L. Shear, "Sculpture Found in 1933," *Hesperia* IV (1935) p. 397 and fig. 24, p. 398. Shear notes that there are traces of red color on the hair. The speck on the tip of the nose is very small and faint. I wish to thank Mr. Shear for his courtesy and assistance, also other members of the Agora staff.

⁴ The Milan head was found at that place and it is very probable that the Townley item in the British Museum and the head at Ostia also were found in Italy.

tures were copied by many of the later statues must have been the great cult statue of the Alexandrian Serapeum. As Amelung has shown, this statue must have been a seated figure, though there are many busts and standing figures known which copied the features if not the pose of the great statue. Some of the pieces mentioned above are busts; one, at least, is a standing figure, one is a seated figure, and several are detached heads which might have come from any kind of statue.¹ The larger head from Corinth shows traces of burning and was undoubtedly made to be fitted on a wooden statue.² On the basis of the pieces discussed and the evidence of the literary accounts, one may conclude that the great statue in Alexandria whose features the later figures copy, had a head made of gold fitted upon a wooden frame which probably had other sheets of metal fitted on it to represent the drapery.³ The hands and feet may also have been of gold since we find this practice elsewhere.⁴

In one of Lucian's Dialogues, Hermes remarks that Greek gods are made mostly of bronze and stone with only a gleam of gold, while the foreign gods are made partly or entirely of gold. He mentions, among others, Anubis as being made entirely of gold. It would be unusual in these circumstances if Sarapis were not fashioned of gold at least in part.⁵ Moreover, the practice of gilding the head of a statue was not uncommon and there are examples of it in both Greece and Italy.⁶ Certainly, in the somber interior of the Serapeum at Alexandria, the bright Egyptian sunlight filtering in upon the golden head set with precious stones for eyes would provide a spectacle that few who saw

¹ The seated figure of Sarapis is very common. One of the lamps from Corinth has the seated figure, while it is quite frequent on coins.

² *AJA* XLI (1937) 539: "this sculpture apparently formed part of an acrolithic figure, or herm. . . ."

³ *REG* XV (1902) 389. Traces of gilding on a head of Asclepius are regarded as one indication of a metallic original.

⁴ *REG* XXIII (1910) 189-190. A Dionysus from the sanctuary of the Syrian gods in Rome had hair, face, and hands gilded.

⁵ *Zeus Tragoidos*, c. 8-9.

⁶ Many examples are given by Gauckler, "Le sanctuaire syrien au Janicule," *C. R. Acad.* (1910) 396-397. Others are listed by W. Deonna, "La dorure partielle des statues," *Rev. Hist. Rel.* LXVIII (1913) 345-350.

would forget. Since the body of the statue was probably dark in color, the gold extremities would be all the more impressive.

I am not prepared at present to take up the thorny question of the authorship of this cult statue at Alexandria. Many ingenious arguments have been presented for the view that the great sculptor Bryaxis made it.¹ The chronological problems raised by this view will require, in my opinion, a more careful working out than they have heretofore received.

¹ In addition to Amelung's paper mentioned above, one might mention the following: G. Lippold, "Sarapis und Bryaxis," *Festschrift Paul Arndt*, 115-127; S. Reinach, *Cultes, Mythes et Religions* II (1906) 338 ff.; J. Six, "Asclepius by Bryaxis," *JHS* XLII (1922) 31 ff.; Amelung, "Saggio sull' arte del IV secolo av. Cristo," *Ausonia*, III (1908) 91-135.

THE ROMAN CENSORS

BY ROBERT VINCENT CRAM

I. INTRODUCTION

THE purpose of this study is to give a definitive list of the Roman censors until their office was taken over by the emperor after 22 B.C. They are herein presented in chronological order together with the higher curule offices held by each censor and a brief account of his activities in his censorship, and a brief characterization when possible. Such a procedure should enable the reader to see at a glance the relative importance of the members of each college, the consulships which they held in common, and their principal activities as censors.

After each name is given the number in parentheses of the individual in Pauly-Wissowa. In cases where the revised edition has not yet appeared, the numbers preceded by * refer to the original Pauly. Occasionally the sources are entirely silent concerning the activities of certain censors. The fragmentary nature of the sources is doubtless sometimes responsible for our lack of knowledge, but in view of the large amount of information recorded about the consuls, we may assume that most of the censors about whom nothing has been recorded were not in any way conspicuous in the exercise of their duties.

The *gentes censoriae* will then be listed alphabetically with the number of individual censors supplied by each in the following periods: 443-367 B.C., 366-287, 286-133, 132-80, 79-50, and 49-30, to enable the reader to estimate at a glance the relative importance of each *gens* based on the number of its representatives in each of these periods. The *gentes* which were represented in the *fasti censorii* will then be compared with the *gentes* represented in the *fasti consulares* as to their relative importance.

Finally such conclusions will be drawn as may seem to be justified from this study as to the importance of this office in Roman public life.

In a dissertation published in 1873¹ De Boor compiled the list of the

¹ C. De Boor, *Fasti Censorii*, Berolini, 1873.

censors together with the *testimonia* and the list of the highest curule offices with the dates *A. U. C.* held by each censor. De Boor made a very careful study, but his dissertation contains many slips, especially in the references contained in the *testimonia*. Moreover, this has long been out of print and is accessible in only a few libraries.

In 1900 De Ruggiero republished the list of the Roman censors in his *Dizionario epigrafico di antichità romane*, 2, part 1, 168, *s.v. censor*, but his list of censors is alphabetical and not chronological. Apart from this it contains the same information given by De Boor and regrettably reproduces all his mistakes.

Beloch¹ subjected the earlier censorships to rigid criticism and rejected several of them, sometimes on purely arbitrary grounds.

The history of the censorship may be found in O. Leuze, *Zur Geschichte der römischen Censur* (Halle, 1912), but the list of censors is not given.

The present study was completed in the summer of 1938 prior to my departure for Greece on a sabbatical furlough. My attention was subsequently called to the announcement that the distinguished Italian epigraphist, Dr. Attilio Degrassi, has in preparation the thirteenth volume of *Inscriptiones Italiae*, the first fascicule of which will include the list of censors.² On February 10, 1939, Dr. Degrassi wrote in reply to a letter from me that the text had already been set up, but that because of the delay in the preparation of the facsimiles, the volume could not appear before 1940. The international situation may well cause further delay. Since the present study was prepared independently and since, apart from the establishment of the list of censors, it differs completely from Degrassi's, I feel justified in presenting it at this time in its present form. Dr. Degrassi very courteously sent me a copy of his list of censors which I collated carefully with mine. With the same gracious courtesy he wrote me the reasons for his opinions on the matters wherein we differed and sent me a reprint of his article, "Risultati della revisione del testo dei *fasti capitolini*," in the new Italian journal *Epigraphica*, I (1939), 21, which

¹ K. J. Beloch, *Römische Geschichte bis zum Beginn der punischen Kriege* (Berlin, 1926), pp. 77-86.

² See A. W. Van Buren, "News Items from Rome," *American Journal of Archaeology*, XLII (1938), 418.

contains a discussion of some of the censorships. The discrepancies between his lists and mine will be noted with comments in their appropriate place.¹

A. U. C. B. C.

- | | | |
|------|------------------|---|
| [311 | 443 ² | L. Papirius Mugillanus (*1) cos. 444.
L. Sempronius Atratinus (25) cos. 444.
Livy IV 8. 7; Cic. <i>Fam.</i> IX 21. 2; Zonar. VII 19. |
| 319 | 435 | C. Furius Pacilus Fusus (76) cos. 441. trib. mil. 426.
M. Geganius M. f. Macerinus (4) cos. 447, 443, 437.
Livy IV 22. 7, 24. 7-9; IX 33. 7-9, 34. 9.
<i>Ibique primum census populi est actus</i> (Livy IV 22. 7). |
| 324 | 430 | L. Papirius (see *Pauly s.v. Papirii p. 1153).
P. Pinarius (*7).
Cic. <i>Rep.</i> II 35. 60.
Cicero states (<i>l. c.</i>): <i>multis dicendis vim armentorum a privatis in publicum averterant</i> . Livy, IV 24. 7, says of these or their predecessors: <i>censores aegre passi Mamercum quod magistratum populi Romani minuisset, tribu moverunt octuplicatoque censu aerarium fecerunt</i> . |
| [336 | 418 | L. Papirius L. f. Mugillanus (see *Pauly s.v. Papirii p. 1153).
<i>Fasti Cap. CIL</i> I ² , p. 17. |
| 351 | 403 | M. Furius L. f. Sp. n. Camillus (44) trib. mil. 403, 398, 394, 386, 384, 373. dict. 396.
M. Postumius A. f. A. n. Albinus Regillensis (*11) perhaps trib. mil. 426.
<i>Fasti Cap.</i> p. 18.
Livy, V 1. 2, gives both of these men as the last of eight military tribunes with consular power for this |

¹ I should like to express my gratitude to Professor Scramuzza who read the original manuscript and made many helpful suggestions and criticisms and to Professor Mason Hammond for its final very careful editing. The writer alone is responsible for any defects which may still exist.

² Brackets indicate that the censorship is rejected by the writer.

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year. According to Valerius Maximus, II 9. 1: *Camillus et Postumius censores aera poenae nomine eos qui ad senectutem caelibes pervenerant in aerarium deferre iusserunt*. Beloch (77) believes that such men should be described more accurately as having held the consular tribunate with the power of censor.

361 393

L. Papirius Cursor (*1) trib. mil. 387, 385.

C. Iulius Sp. f. Vopisci n. (295) trib. mil. 408, 405.

Died in office.

Suf. M. Cornelius P. f. P. n. Maluginensis (248).

Fasti Cap. p. 19; Livy V 31. 6; IX 34. 20; Dion. Hal. I 74. 5.

[365 389

L. Papirius.

M. Furius Fusus (60).

Diod. XV 22. 1.

Of the first seven censorships Beloch (80) accepts as genuine only those of 403 and 389. He points out that in five of these seven censorships there is a L. Papirius which would have given the *gens Papiria*, especially its representatives with the *praenomen Lucius*, a monopoly at this time. He remarks (81) that it is common knowledge that Mommsen (*Römisches Staatsrecht*, Leipzig, 1887, II³, 335, n. 1) considered both the consuls of 444 and their reputed censorship for the following year falsified. Beloch, however (*l. c.*, cf. 249-250), considers the consuls of 310/444 genuine and adds that they could perfectly well have taken the census the following year, but as the consuls of the previous year, not as censors. In fact, Livy states, IV 8. 7: *Papirium Semproniumque quorum de consulatu dubitatur . . . censui agendo populus suffragiis praefecit. Censores ab re appellati sunt*.

Mommsen (*op. cit.* 334-335) considered the censorship of 435 as probably the first occasion when two

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special magistrates were chosen to relieve the consuls of the duty of taking the census. He cites as authorities Livy IV 8. 1; Dion. XI 63; Zonar. VII 19. Beloch (*l. c.*), however, rejects the entire censorship as very doubtful for the sole reason that it is unlikely that three Furii should have been censors in this early period. If, however, we reject the censorship of 389 which he considers genuine, this purely subjective argument does not hold. The Furii and the old patrician family of the Geganii are prominent in the consular *fasti* of this period. There is, therefore, not the slightest reason to question this college.

No less an authority than Cicero, *Rep.* II 35. 60, vouches for the college of 430, yet Beloch (*l. c.*) insists that these censors were obviously falsified since their names do not occur in the lists of the consular tribunes. The L. Papirius of this college may well have been the Mugillanus whose consulship in 444 Beloch considers genuine.

Beloch (80) also rejects the censorship of 393, arbitrarily ignoring the older testimonia on the basis of a statement of Festus, p. 364 M : *dicitur etiam quoddam (tributum) temerarium ut post urbem a Gallis captam conlatum est, quia proximis XV annis[†] alius[†] non erat*. To reach his conclusion, Beloch must interpret *proximis* in the infrequent but attested sense of "next before." However, the course of the sentence and the probability that the *tributum temerarium* was necessitated by the destruction of property and records in the Sack of Rome rather than by the absence of a recent assessment renders far more probable here the usual meaning "next after." Livy twice in widely separated passages, V 31. 6 and IX 34. 20, refers to the census of 393 and states expressly in each passage that never again was a *suffectus* chosen, but *omnes deinceps post mortem collegae se magistratu abdicarunt*.

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Dionysius, I 74. 5, quotes old censorial records in family archives to show that a census occurred two years before the Sack. His two years as against the traditional dates 393 and 390 only reflects the chronological uncertainty of the period. But if the statement of Festus should have more weight than the two widely separated passages in Livy and the statement of Dionysius, would V be an impossible scribal error for I? If Festus wrote XI instead of XV, this would bring the next genuine censorship into the year 380, eleven years reckoned inclusively from 390, while at the same time casting doubt on the censorship of 389 which the writer rejects. Both of these censors had held the consular tribunate twice. The *suffectus* M. Cornelius Maluginensis was the son of the consular tribune of 404 and may have held this position himself, but after his reputed censorship (see nos. 248 and 249 in Pauly-Wissowa).

Beloch (78) argues that two military tribunes acted as censors in 389 because Diodorus, XV 22. 1, has eight names. Beloch emends the text *Λεύκιον καὶ Ποστούμιον* to *Λεύκιον [Αἰμίλιον] καὶ Ποστούμιον* to make his eight. He points out that the only other place where this list is preserved is in Livy, VI 1. 8, who gives only six names. Beloch's explanation of the fact that L. Papirius and M. Furius are lacking in Livy is that they had the duties of censors, and that a census was held about this time, since Livy, VI 1. 8, states that in 367/387 *tribus quattuor ex novis civibus additur*. Moreover, the number of military tribunes in this period was regularly six, cf. Beloch's table on p. 255. To this argument it may be objected that (1) nothing else is known about either of these men; (2) in 403 a M. Furius Fusus is said to have been consular tribune and also a M. Furius Camillus. The writer in Pauly-Wissowa does not mention any censorship of this M.

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Furius Fusus (*s.v.* Furius 60) and points out significantly that these two reputed consular tribunes have the same *praenomen* and *nomen*; (3) if we exclude M. Furius Fusus as exceedingly doubtful, the *praenomen Marcus* only occurs five other times in the *gens Furia* during the republic. M. Furius Camillus is the only certain bearer of this *praenomen* until M. Furius Crassipes, praetor in 187. Degrassi does not include this college in his list. In a letter dated February 22, 1939, he wrote *nomina censorum a. 389 (?) omisi, quod incertiora mihi videbantur*. There is, then, far more reason to question this censorship than any of those rejected by Beloch except that of 418, which he discards, because its only representative is otherwise unknown. There is, of course, great uncertainty about this entire period, as Beloch admits, but all of these censors except the Papirii are accepted as genuine by the writers in Pauly-Wissowa, while Beloch's condemnation rests on mere personal opinion, except in the case of the censors of 393.

There is no reason to exclude as falsified the colleges of 435, 430, 403, and 393, which are well attested. If we reject with Mommsen and Beloch the censors of 443 and with Beloch the censor of 418, and reject as very doubtful the college of 389, we have only two representatives of the Papirii and two of the Furii, which in the case of the latter Beloch himself regarded as a reasonable number.

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|-----|-----|---|
| 374 | 380 | C. Sulpicius Camerinus (7) trib. mil. 382. Abdicated.
Sp. Postumius Regillensis Albinus (*14) trib. mil. 394.
Died in office.
Livy VI 27. 4. |
| 376 | 378 | Sp. Servilius Priscus (74) perhaps trib. mil. 368. Did not complete the lustrum.
Q. Cloelius Siculus (11).
Livy VI 31. 2. |

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388 366

. . . .Postumius Regillensis Albinus.

C. Sulpicius M. f. Q. n. Peticus (83) cos. 364, 361, 355, 353, 351. dict. 358.

Fasti Cap. p. 20.

Beloch (*op. cit.* 83) considers the censorship of 388/366 an interpolation because another census was taken three years later which he regards as genuine. On p. 82 he states that the holding of a census in 376/378 proves the correctness of the tradition that the census was not taken in 374/380. Yet he lists the census of both 374/380 and 376/378 under the heading *Echt sind demnach nur folgende Consulartribune censoria potestate*. On p. 83 he concludes his argument with the statement that the appearance of the names of eight or nine consular tribunes in the *fasti* under the year 374/380 proves that a census was taken that year *oder doch stattgefunden sollte*. The fragment of the *fasti* to which Beloch refers is cited by Münzer, PW s.v. Sulpicius 29, from *Not. Scav.* (1899) 384, lines 1-5. It lists nine consular tribunes of whom the last is C. Sulpicius M. f. Q. n. Peticus. Against this evidence it might be objected that the text of Diodorus, XV 50. 1, gives the names of only seven tribunes, one of them listed by his *praenomen* only. As a variant reading for Αἰμίλιον Vogel, in the *apparatus criticus* of the Teubner edition, vol. III (Leipzig, 1893) p. 429, gives Αἰμίλιον καὶ Φλάβιον Μάρκον c. If this be accepted, the list of Diodorus does contain eight names, but c, which is the sole authority for M. Fabius, has the obviously corrupt reading Πόπλιον "Αγκον for the Πόπλιον of PA. Beloch (*op. cit.* 78) accepts as genuine the Φλάβιον Μάρκον, but adds that a name has fallen out and that Τερέντιος is obviously corrupted from Σέργιος. In other words, there is some textual uncertainty.

Beloch's second reason for rejecting the censorship

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of 388/366 is that the college is a duplication of that of 374/380 save that C. Sulpicius has the *cognomen* *Camerinus* in Livy VI 27. 4 under this year, but *Peticus* in the *fasti* under the year 388/366 (*op. cit.* 83). Münzer (*l. c.*), on the other hand, considers this censorship historical, but that of 374/380 interpolated on the ground that the latter is a doublet of the former. According to Livy (*l. c.*): *Creati censores C. Sulpicius Camerinus, Sp. Postumius Regillensis, coeptaque iam res morte Postumi, quia collegam suffici censori religio erat, interpellata est.* Of the censors of 378 he wrote, VI 31. 2: *ne rem agerent bello impediti sunt.*

When Beloch objects to the census of 388/366 because another was held three years later, he discounts Livy's statement, VII 1. 8: *L. Genucio et Q. Servilio consulibus (389/365) . . . censorem, aedilem curulem, tres tribunos plebis mortuos ferunt.* This statement, which Beloch regards as including a duplicate of the tradition that a censor died in office in 380, would indicate that Livy thought that a census was taken in 389/365. Livy, of course, might have been misled by the duplication, but in view of the irregular intervals at which the previous censorships had been held and the general uncertainty concerning the entire period, the occurrence of two colleges within three years of each other furnishes no proof that one of these must necessarily be spurious. Indeed Degrassi believes that he has certain proof of a similar situation in the censorships of 483/271 and 485/269, but see the note on the censors for those years (page 85 n. 2).

The Sulpicius of 380 could not have been the Peticus of 366 since it is unlikely that he should have waited until 364 to be consul and then have been consul five times and dictator at an advanced age. The Sulpicius Camerinus, reputed censor of 380, had, however, been consular tribune two years previously.

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Both Beloch and Münzer consider these censorships of 380 and 366 a case of duplication because each time there is a Postumius and each time a censor died in office — definitely called Postumius by Livy in his account of the censorship of 380. Both, however, have to supply the first name Sp. for the censor of 366, and if the censorships of 380 and 366 are duplicates, Münzer is surely right that that of 366 is historical. The writer sees no reason to question either, however. The presence of a Postumius in both may be a case of duplication, although there is no evidence that the Postumius of 366 and the censor reported by Livy as having died in that year are the same man. In spite of the same *praenomen* and *nomen*, Camerinus and Peticus cannot be the same.

Beloch states (82) that with the reestablishment of the consulship in 388/366 it became necessary to separate the censorship from the supreme magistracy. Solely on the basis of his opinion that a college of 8 consular tribunes always meant that the last two exercise censorial power, he declares without further evidence that the work of the census had to be done by the consular tribunes during the course of their official term of one year. *Wenn Livius* (IV 24. 5; IX 33. 6) *sagt, die Dauer der Censur sei bis dahin fünfjährig gewesen, so ist das vollständig verkehrt.* To the writer this statement seems extremely arbitrary. The only thing to be said in its favor is that our sources give almost no information about the activities of these early censors. One may accept Beloch's opinion that the *Lex Aemilia* which restricted the length of the censorship to eighteen months was enacted about this time and that its author was undoubtedly L. Aemilius Mamercinus (95), consul 366 and 363, rather than Mam. Aemilius Mamercinus (97), reputed author of the law in his second dictatorship of 434 (Livy IV

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24. 5; IX 33. 6), without subscribing to his statement: *Die Lex Aemilia hat also nicht eine Verkürzung, sondern eine Verlängerung der Amtsdauer festgesetzt.* Stuart-Jones, however, in *CAH* VII 522, accepts 433 as the date of this law.

391 363 M. Fabius K. f. M. n. Ambustus (43) trib. mil. 381, 369.

L. Furius Sp. f. L. n. Medullinus (66) trib. mil. 381, 370.

Fasti Cap. p. 20.

[396 358¹ M. Fabius N. f. M. n. Ambustus (44) cos. 360, 356, 354, dict. 351.

403 351 Cn. Manlius L. f. A. n. Capitolinus Imperiosus (53) cos. 359, 357.

C. *Marcius*² L. f. C. n. Rutilus (97) dict. 356, cos. 357, 352, 344, 342.

Livy VII 22. 7-10, 38. 9; X 8. 8.

Marcus was the first plebeian censor and the first plebeian dictator.

[414 340³ P. Cornelius P. f. Scipio (329) aed. cur. 366, mag. equit. 350.

L. Cornelius P. f. Scipio (322) cos. 350.

Vell. II 8. 2; Euseb. *ad a.* 414; Hieron. *ad a.* 415.

422 332 Q. *Publilius* Q. f. Q. n. Philo (*6) cos. 339, 327, 320, 315.

Sp. Postumius Albinus⁴ (*17) cos. 334, 321.

¹ The only *testimonium* assigned by De Boor and De Ruggiero for this censor is Livy VII 15. 12, but the reference is incorrect. According to PW s.v. Fabius 44 he was not censor, but *princeps senatus*. Beloch omits the entire censorship in his *Zeittafel* on p. 631, and on p. 84 he apparently accepts only those censors mentioned in Livy for the years 391/363-461/293.

² Italicizing indicates a plebeian family.

³ These men were brothers. The genuineness of this censorship is questioned in PW s.v. Cornelius 22, and this censorship is omitted in Beloch's *Zeittafel* on p. 633, cf. above n. 1.

⁴ Degrassi in his list adds *postea Caudinus* and in his letter already cited refers to *Notizie degli Scavi* 1899, 384-385, where Gatti restored a then newly discovered

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Livy VIII 17. 11; Vell. I 14. 4.

Nothing is known about the activities of these censors, but Livy, IX 26. 21, says of Publilius: *multiplicatis summis honoribus post res tot domi belloque gestas, ceterum invisus nobilitati*.

[435 319¹

C. Sulpicius Ser. f. Q. n. Longus (75) cos. 337, 323, 314, dict. 312.

Fasti Cap. p. 21.

436 318

L. Papirius L. f. P. n. Crassus (*8) dict. 340. cos. 336, 330.

C. Maenius P. f. P. n. (9) cos. 338. dict. 320, 314.

Fasti Cap. p. 21; Festus p. 137 M.

Maenius built the galleries over the taverns which immortalized his name. He is the first censor about whose building activities there is any record.

442 312

Ap. Claudius C. f. Ap. n. Caecus (91) cos. 307, 296.

C. Plautius C. f. C. n. Venox (*5) cos. 329, 328.

Fasti Cap. p. 21; Frontin. *Aquaed.* I 5; Livy IX 29. 5-8.

The best account is given by Diodorus, XX 36. 1-6. For an excellent appreciation of the censorship see Mommsen, *Röm. Forsch.* I 284-286.

Plautius abdicated after the completion of his eighteen months in accordance with the Aemilian Law while *Appius iam inde antiquitus insitam pertinaciam familiae gerendo solus censuram obtinuit* (Livy IX 29. 8) in order to complete the famous Claudian aqueduct and via Appia. There was nothing illegal about this procedure, however, as Livy implies (Mommsen, *St. R.* II³ 351. 2).

Both censors were responsible for the *lectio senatus*,

fragment of the *fasti Capitolini* in line 1 to read [*cens. Q. Publilius Q. f. Q. n. Philo Sp. Postumius. . . . Albinus*] *qui postea Caudinus appell.* [*est. l. f. xxiii*].

¹ The only witness to this censorship is part of the beginning of the line *cens.* and the end of a gentile name, restored as [*Sulpi*]c*ius*. The entire censorship is omitted in Beloch's *Zeittafel*.

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the first fundamental revision of the senate list known to us. The acceptance of the sons of freedmen into the senate was an especial affront to the old tradition (Livy IX 46. 10). In fact Livy, IX 29. 7, states that Plautius resigned *ob infamem atque invidiosam senatus lectionem verecundia victus*, but Diodorus, XX 36, assures us that he was devoted to his colleague throughout.

During this censorship the *tibicines* were forbidden to hold their festival in the temple of Jupiter. This resulted in the migration of the entire college from Rome (Livy IX 30. 5). Appius made an innovation in the religious domain by transferring the cult of Hercules at the public altar from the family of the Potitii to the public slaves (Livy IX 29. 9).

His political reforms, however, were especially significant. Appius was the first to give full citizen rights to citizens without landed property, among whom were large numbers of freedmen. He thereby changed the rest of the citizen body and its composition. Appius frankly directed his efforts chiefly against the interests of the patricians. Diodorus' characterization, XX 36. 4, of his entire activity as censor is essentially correct: ἐξέκλινε τὸ προσκόπτειν τισὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν, ἀντίταγμα κατασκευάζων τῇ τῶν εὐγενῶν ἀλλοτριότητι τὴν παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν εὐνοίαν.

447 307 M. Valerius M. f. M. n. Maximus (*22) cos. 312, 289, 286.

C. Iunius C. f. C. n. Bubulcus Brutus (62) cos. 317, 313, 311. dict. 302.

Fasti Cap. p. 21; Livy IX 43. 25; Val. Max. II 9. 2.

These censors removed L. Annius from the senate because of an arbitrary act of divorce and laid a road through a province. Brutus let the building of a temple of Salus (Livy X 1. 9). Münzer, in PW s.v. Iunius 62, says it was clear that he was one of the leading plebe-

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ians and contributed more to the distinction of his family than any of his ancestors.

450 304 Q. Fabius M. f. M. n. Maximus Rullianus (114) cos. 322, 310, 308, 297, 295. dict. 315, 302.

P. Decius P. f. Q. n. Mus (16) cos. 312, 308, 297, 295. Livy IX 46. 14; Val. Max. II 2. 9; Auct. *de Vir. Ill.* 32. 2.

Fabius tried to set aside the democratic reforms of his predecessor Appius Claudius by confining the freedmen to the four urban tribes. He also instituted the *transvectio equitum*.

454 300¹ P. Sempronius P. f. C. n. Sophus (85) cos. 304.

P. Sulpicius Ser. f. P. n. Saverrio (97) cos. 304.

Fasti Cap. p. 21; Livy X 9. 14.

They established the tribes Aniensis and Terentina.

460 294 P. Cornelius A. f. P. n. Arvina (66) cos. 306, 288.

C. Marcius C. f. L. n. Rutilus Censorinus (98) cos. 310. Censor II 489/265 (p. 87).

Fasti Cap. p. 21; Livy X 47. 2.

Cornelius had a Marcius as his colleague in both of his consulships.

Marcius was the only man to attain the censorship a second time, and again he had a Cornelius as his colleague.

Between

464 290

and

466 288² Q. Fabius Q. f. M. n. Maximus Gurges (112) cos. 292, 276, 265.

Sp. Carvilius C. f. C. n. Maximus (9) cos. 293, 272.

Vell. II 128. 2.

Like Cato and Mummius, Carvilius rose from the

¹ Beloch, *Röm. Gesch.* 636, dates this censorship 455/299.

² According to Beloch (*op. cit.* 638) this censorship belongs *in die Jahre seit 289*, but Degraasi gives the traditional date in his forthcoming list and states, *Epigraphica* I (Milano, 1939), 26, that Sp. Carvilius might have been censor in 290-288.

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position of *eques* to the highest honors of a consulship, triumph, and censorship.

471 283

Q. *Caedicius* Noctua (10) cos. 289.

Fasti Cap. p. 22.

He must have abdicated because of the death of his unknown colleague, or for some other reason.

474 280

L. Cornelius Cn. f. Scipio Barbatus (343) cos. 298.

Cn. *Domitius* Cn. f. Cn. n. Calvinus Maximus (45) cos. 283, dict. 280.

Fasti Cap. p. 22; *Livy Per.* XIII.

479 275¹

C. *Fabricius* C. f. C. n. Luscinus (9) cos. 282, 278.

Q. Aemilius Papus (112) cos. 282, 278.

Livy Per. XIV; *Gell.* XVII 21. 39; *Zonar.* VIII 6; *Fasti Cap.* in *Not. Scav.* 1925, 378, line 6, cf. p. 380 n. *ad loc.*

There are several sources for the story that Fabricius expelled Luscinus from the senate *quod X pondo vasea argentea comparasset*.

483 271²

M'. *Curius* M. f. M. n. Dentatus (9) cos. 290, 275, 274.

L. Papirius Cursor (*6) perhaps cos. 293, 272.

¹ De Boor (*Fast. Cens.* 11) gives the date of this censorship as 478/276, but as Leuze (*Zur Geschichte der römischen Censur* 6) points out, the *fasti Capitolini* are missing for this year and *Livy, Per.* XIV, does not furnish evidence for the exact dating. We have to depend solely on *Zonaras*, VIII 6. 9, according to whom *Rufinus* was removed from the senate by the censors in A. U. C. 479. Since it was the rule that the *senatus lectio* was undertaken by the censors soon after their entrance on office (*Mommsen, St. R.* II³, 420), Leuze believes that their election may be assigned with more probability to 479/275 than to the previous year. With him agree *Beloch (op. cit.* 85) and *Münzer* in *PW s.v. Aemilius* 112.

² The traditional date, 482/272 is accepted by *Münzer* in *PW s.v. Curius* 9, but *Beloch* (85) insists that *Frontinus, unser einziges Zeugnis*, has made a mistake, since L. Papirius held the consulship 482/272, and could not have been censor at the same time; moreover there was no other Papirius of sufficient distinction at this time to qualify him for the censorship. He therefore dates this censorship in the next year 483/271.

Degrassi also dates this censorship 482/272, and in his letter already cited, he writes: *si cognoveris fragmenta fastorum Capitolinorum quae post alteram editionem corporis innotuerunt, facile videbis M'. Curium Dentatum et L. Papirium Praetextatum*

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Frontin. *Aquaed.* I 6; *Fasti Cap.* in *Not. Scav.* 1925, 380, line 10.

Curius contracted to have the waters of the Anio Vetus brought into Rome with the proceeds of the booty captured from Pyrrhus.

[485 269 L. Aemilius Q. f. Q. n. Barbula (31) cos. 281.

Q. Marcius Q. f. Q. n. Philippus (78) cos. 281.

The sole authority for this censorship is the fragment of the *fasti Capitolini* discovered by Mingazzini.¹

censores fuisse a. 272, and he refers to *Notizie degli Scavi* 1925, 378, lines 9-10, cf. Mingazzini's n. *ad loc.* on p. 380. If one may judge from the original Pauly s.v. Papirii, p. 1153, the only Papirius with the *cognomen* Praetextatus is the otherwise unknown person about whom Gellius, I 23, states that Cato the Elder told a story in his speech against Galba. Professor Hammond has called my attention to the fact that the *fasti* certainly thought that there were two Papirii in the early third century, the consul of 272 with the *cognomen* Cursor, and the censor under discussion with the *cognomen* Praetextatus, who may or may not have been the subject of Cato's story. He suggests that the appearance of a name as late as this strongly suggests its genuineness and that Frontinus probably had access to an actual inscriptional record. He would, therefore, agree with Degrassi in accepting this otherwise unknown Praetextatus. To this it may be objected that in the entire list of authentic censors, there are only three who had not held the consulship. Two of these formed the college of 209. One had previously been praetor, the other only curule aedile. They later shared the consulship of 204. The only other non-consular censor was Sulpicius Rufus, censor in 42. He had been praetor in 48, but never attained the consulship. It seems to the writer that it was practically an unwritten rule that a censor should be a *consularis* and that it is most unlikely that a man should have held the censorship at this time who was not. The appearance of an otherwise unknown name in the *fasti Capitolini* does not prove its genuineness. In the writer's opinion, Beloch has offered the only tenable interpretation of this censorship unless it has been interpolated, yet on p. 640 of his *Zeittafel* he has under the year 482/272 *cens. [L.] Papirius Praetextatus, M'. Curius Dentatus.*

¹ *Notizie degli Scavi* 1925, 378, line 14, cf. n. *ad loc.* on p. 381. Degrassi in *Epigraphica* I (1939), 26, has been able from a reëxamination of the stone to correct Mingazzini's restoration of Sp. Carvilius Maximus as the colleague of Barbula. Mancini, ripubblicando il frammento, diede come esistenti del cognome del primo censore le lettere MVS. Non ci fu così nessun dubbio che Carvilio Massimo fosse stato censore nel 269. Ma nel marmo non c'è nessuna traccia di M; si vedono invece chiarissime dinanzi a VS le tracce di due P, che non possono riferirsi che al cognome Philippus. E poichè in quest'epoca di Philippi non eccelse che Q. Marcius Q. f. Q. n. Philippus, console e trionfatore nel 281, magister equitum nel 263, sarà questi il censore del 269.

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There is no reason on this account to doubt the historicity of this censorship since there is a complete break in the literary tradition at this point. Further, this is not the only case where censors had previously been colleagues in the consulship. Beloch in his *Zeittafel* on p. 640 accepts this censorship, but makes no attempt to restore the name of the colleague of Barbula. He rejected, however, an earlier censorship which came within three years of another (see pp. 78-79), and this objection would seem even more valid at as late a period as this. Perhaps we should not forget the warning of Cicero (*Brut.* 62) and Livy (VIII 40. 3 and 4) concerning the credibility of the *fasti*.

489 265 Cn. Cornelius L. f. Cn. n. Blasio (73) cos. 270, 257.
C. *Marcus* C. f. L. n. Rutilus Censorinus (98) see p. 84 under 460/294.

Fasti Cap. p. 22.

Censorinus was the only one to hold the censorship a second time. He severely reproved the people for electing him again and had a law passed which made such a procedure impossible for the future (Val. Max. IV 1. 3; Plut. *Cor.* 1. 1).

496 258 C. *Duilius* M. f. M. n. (3) cos. 260.
L. Cornelius L. f. Cn. n. Scipio (323) cos. 259.

Fasti Cap. p. 22.

501 253 D. *Iunius* D. f. D. n. Pera (124) cos. 266. Abdicated.
L. Postumius L. f. L. n. (*20) cos. 262.

Fasti Cap. p. 24.

Iunius may have resigned his office because of the death of his colleague.

502 252 M'. Valerius M. f. M. n. Maximus Messalla (*25) cos. 263.

P. Sempronius P. f. P. n. Sophus (86) cos. 268.

Fasti Cap. p. 24; Livy *Per.* XVIII.

These censors expelled 16 from the senate (Livy *Per.* XVIII), and because they had been guilty of diso-

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- bedience in Sicily *equestris ordinis CCCC iuvenes . . . equis publicis spoliatos in numerum aerariorum retulerunt* (Val. Max. II 9. 7). Sempronius also divorced his wife *nihil aliud quam se ignorante ludos ausam spectare* (Val. Max. VI 3. 12; Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 14).
- 507 247 A. Atilius A. f. C. n. Calatinus (36) cos. 258, 254. dict. 249.
A. Manlius T. f. T. n. Torquatus Atticus (87) cos. 244, 241.
Fasti Cap. p. 24.
- 513 241 C. Aurelius L. f. C. n. Cotta (94) cos. 252, 248.
M. Fabius M. f. M. n. Buteo (53) cos. 245. dict. 216.
Fasti Cap. p. 24, but only the name of Aurelius Cotta is preserved. The name Fabius Buteo is inferred from Livy XXIII 22. 10.
- 518 236 L. Cornelius L. f. Ti. n. Lentulus Caudinus (211) cos. 237.
Q. Lutatius C. f. C. n. Cerco (13) cos. 241.
Fasti Cap. p. 24.
Lutatius died in the first year of his censorship.
- 520 234 C. Atilius A. f. A. n. Bulbus (33) cos. 245, 235.
A. Postumius A. f. L. n. Albinus (*21) cos. 242.
Fasti Cap. p. 24.
- 523 231 T. Manlius T. f. T. n. Torquatus (82) cos. 235, 224.
Q. Fulvius M. f. Q. n. Flaccus (59) cos. 237, 224, 212, 209.
Fasti Cap. p. 24.
Fulvius is referred to as censor by Livy in XXIII 30. 18; XXV 5. 3; and XXVIII 45. 2.
PW s.v. Fulvius 59 states that both censors must have resigned because of a faulty election. See Leuze, *Zur Gesch.* 7.
- 524 230 Q. Fabius Q. f. Q. n. Maximus Verrucosus (116) cos. 233, 228, 215, 214, 209. dict. 217. princ. sen. 209, 204.
M. Sempronius C. f. M. n. Tuditanus (93) cos. 240.
Fasti Cap. p. 24; *Elog.* xiii *CIL* I² p. 193.

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529 225 C. Claudius Ap. f. C. n. Centho (104) cos. 240. dict. 213.
M. Iunius D. f. D. n. Pera (126) cos. 230. dict. 216.
Fasti Cap. p. 24.

534 220 L. Aemilius Q. f. Cn. n. Papus (108) cos. 225.
C. Flaminius C. f. L. n. (2) cos. 223, 217.
Livy XXIII 22. 3, 23. 5; XXIV 11. 7; *Per.* XX; *Plin. H. N.* XXXV 197.

According to PW *s.v.* Flaminius 2 the fragmentary state of the tradition does not afford a clear picture of the significance of this censorship, which may perhaps be compared with that of Ap. Claudius Caecus. It appears very possible that Flaminius undertook a reform of the centuriate constitution and in that connection regulated the votes of the freedmen (*Livy Per.* XX). During his censorship he introduced a *lex Metilia de fullonibus* and built the Via Flaminia to Ariminum and the Circus Flaminius.

540 214 M. Atilius M. f. M. n. Regulus (52) cos. 227, 217.
Abdicated.
P. Furius Sp. f. M. n. Philus (80) cos. 223. Died in office.

Livy XXIV 11. 6, 18. 1-6, 43. 2-4; *Val. Max.* II 9. 8; V 6. 8; *Fasti Cap.* in *Not. Scav.* 1925, 379, line 3.

These censors dealt very severely with those who proposed to leave Italy after the battle of Cannae and with those who in the preceding four years had withdrawn from military service without good reason. The death of Furius prevented his colleague from completing the *lustrum*.

544 210 L. Veturius L. f. Post. n. Philo (*14) cos. 217. Died in office.
P. Licinius P. f. P. n. Crassus Dives (69) aed. cur. 212. cos. 205. Abdicated and became mag. equitum for the dictator Q. Fulvius Flaccus.

Livy XXVII 6. 17; *Fasti Cap.* in *Not. Scav.* 1925, 379, lines 11-13.

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Livy says: (*Licinius*) *ex aedilitate gradum ad censuram fecit. Sed hi censores neque senatum legerunt neque quicquam publicae rei egerunt: mors diremit L. Veturi; inde et Licinius censura se abdicavit.* The *fasti* give his mastership of the cavalry.

545 209 M. Cornelius M. f. M. n. Cethegus (92) aed. cur. 213. praet. 211. cos. 204.

P. Sempronius C. f. C. n. Tuditanus (96) aed. cur. 214. cos. 204.

Livy XXVII 11. 7-16, 36. 6-8; *Fasti Cap.* in *Not. Scav.* 1925, 379, line 14.

Münzer, in *PW s.v.* Sempronius 96, notes that he held his previous curule offices and censorship in years when Q. Fabius Maximus was consul and as censor put through the appointment of Fabius as *princeps senatus* against the wishes of his colleague and contrary to all tradition. Neither he nor his colleague had yet been consuls (Livy XXVII 11. 7).

550 204 M. *Livius* M. f. M. n. Salinator (33) cos. 219, 207. C. Claudius Ti. f. Ti. n. Nero (246) cos. 207.

Fasti Cap. p. 23; Livy XXIX 37. 1-17; XXXVI 36. 4; XXXIX 3. 5; Val. Max. II 9. 6; VII 2. 6; Auct. *de Vir. Ill.* 50. 3.

In the *lectio senatus* seven were branded and Fabius Cunctator was again chosen *princeps senatus*. The repair of public buildings was carefully scrutinized. Contracts were let for a road from the Forum Boarium to the temple of Venus and for a temple of the Great Mother on the Palatine. A new tax was established on the price of salt.

The closing of the *lustrum* was later than usual because the censors sent persons through the provinces to ascertain the number of Roman citizens in each of the armies. They then for the first time received a census of the twelve colonies *ut quantum numero militum, quantum pecunia valerent in publicis tabulis monu-*

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menta extarent (Livy XXIX 37. 7). When they came to the review of the equites a personal quarrel arose. One may conclude with Livy XXIX 37. 16: *Pravum certamen notarum inter censores, castigatio inconstantiae populi censoria et gravitate temporum illorum digna.*

- 555 199 P. Cornelius P. f. P. n. Scipio Africanus (336) cos. 205, 194. princeps senatus from 199 until his death.
P. Aelius¹ Q. f. P. n. Paetus (101) cos. 201.
Fasti Cap. p. 25; Livy XXXII 7. 2 and 3.

Multis claris petentibus viris creati censores . . . ii magna inter se concordia et senatum sine ullius nota legerunt et portoria venalicium Capuae Puteolisque, item Castrum portorium, quo in loco nunc oppidum est, fruendum locarunt colonosque eo trecentos . . . adscripserunt et sub Tifatis Capuae agrum vendiderunt (Livy XXXII 7. 3).

- 560 194 Sex. Aelius¹ Q. f. P. n. Paetus Catus (105) cos. 198.
C. Cornelius L. f. M. n. Cethegus (88) cos. 197.
Fasti Cap. p. 25; Livy XXXIV 44. 4-5; XXXV 9. 1; Antias frag. 37 Peter, Ascon. in *Cornel.* p. 61K.

These censors were the first to reserve special seats for the senators at the *Ludi Romani* (Antias l. c.). *Equitibus quoque perpaucis adempti equi, nec in ullum ordinem saevitum. Atrium Libertatis et villa publica ab iisdem refecta amplificataque* (Livy XXXIV 44. 5).

- 565 189 T. Quinctius T. f. L. n. Flamininus (*3) cos. 198.
M. Claudius M. f. M. n. Marcellus (222) cos. 196.
Fasti Cap. p. 25; Livy XXXVII 57. 10, 58. 2; XXXVIII 28. 1, 36. 10; XLI 9. 9, 13. 4; Plut. *Flamin.* 18. 1.

As censor Claudius stands in the first place among the witnesses in the *S. C. de Bacchanalibus* of 186.

- 570 184 L. Valerius P. f. L. n. Flaccus (*35) cos. 195.
M. Porcius M. f. M. n. Cato (*10) cos. 195.

¹ De Boor and De Ruggiero follow the *fasti Capitolini* in spelling this name, incorrectly, *Allius*, cf. PW s.v. Aelius 101.

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Fasti Cap. p. 25; Livy XXXIX 40. 2 and 3, 41. 1-3, 42. 5-12, especially 44. 1-9; Cic. *Brut.* 60; Plut. *Cat. Mai.* 16; Val. Max. IV 5. 1; Plin. *H. N.* VIII 210; XIV 44; XXIX 13; XXXVI 53; Gell. XIII 24. 1 and 2.

These censors dealt with the senate and equites with great severity. Seven were removed from the senate, including the distinguished praetor, Manilius. An attempt was made to check luxury by placing a high tax on feminine finery and on favorite slaves under twenty. Many useful public works were undertaken, among them the building by Cato, under his own name, of the first basilica at Rome. Public expenditures were strictly supervised. *Et vectigalia summis pretiis, ultro tributa infimis locaverunt. . . . Nobilis censura fuit simultatiumque plena, quae M. Porcium, cui acerbitas ea adsignabatur, per omnem vitam exercuerunt* (Livy XXXIX 44. 7 and 9).

575 179

M. Aemilius M. f. M. n. Lepidus (68) cos. 187, 175. princ. sen. six times.

M. Fulvius M. f. Ser. n. Nobilior (91) cos. 189.

Fasti Cap. p. 25; Livy XL 45. 6-8, 46. 1-16, especially 51. 1-9; Val. Max. IV 2. 1; Gell. XII 8. 5 and 6.

These men had been enemies, but when elected censors they became publicly reconciled and conducted their office in complete harmony. In the *lectio senatus*, they expelled three. They instituted many *portoria* and *vectigalia* and made a change in the *Comitia Tributa* of which Livy only says, XL 51. 9: *mutarunt suffragia, regionatimque generibus hominum causisque et quaestibus tribus descripserunt*.

The building activity of these censors, especially that of Fulvius, was noteworthy. The Basilica Aemilia et Fulvia was their joint work (Varro *L. L.* VI 4; Plut. *Caes.* 29. 3) as also the neighboring *forum piscatorium et macellum*. According to PW s.v. Fulvius 91, the censorship of Fulvius was made a special object of attack in a speech by Cato, but it seems to

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the writer that the words of Festus (p. 285 M), *Cato in ea quam scripsit cum edissertavit Fulvi Nobilioris censuram*, hardly justify such an interpretation.

580 174

Q. Fulvius Q. f. M. n. Flaccus (61) cos. 179.

A. Postumius A. f. A. n. Albinus (*26) cos. 180.

Fasti Cap. p. 25; Cic. *Verr. Act.* II I 106; Livy XLI 27. 1; XLII 10. 1; XLIII 16. 2; Plin. *H. N.* VII 157.

In the *lectio senatus* they banished nine men from the senate including the brother of Fulvius and degraded many of the equites. Their activity was notable in architectural reforms for the development of Rome as a capital.

Fulvius was also personally interested in the architectural improvement of other Italian cities, namely the colonies of Potentia and Pisaurum, founded ten years earlier by his brother and another Fulvius. He completed and dedicated the temple of Fortuna Equestris which had been vowed in the Celtiberian war.

585 169

C. Claudius Ap. f. P. n. Pulcher (300) cos. 177.

Ti. Sempronius P. f. Ti. n. Gracchus (53) cos. 177, 163.

Fasti Cap. p. 25; Livy XLIII 14-16; XLIV 16. 8-11; XLV 15. 1-9.

Both censors supported the holding of a levy for the Macedonian war (Livy XLIII 14. 5 and 6). After taking the *lectio senatus* they greatly angered the equestrian order because of their severe treatment of it. The tribune P. Rutilius as advocate for the capitalists accused both of treason before the *comitia centuriata*. Claudius was tried first and acquitted by a small majority after his more popular colleague insisted that he would share his fate (Livy XLIII 16. 14-16; Cic. *Rep.* VI 2).

In the course of his office Sempronius built the Basilica Sempronia (Livy XLIV 16. 10 and 11). Then in spite of the opposition of his colleague, he

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essentially curtailed the suffrage of the freedmen by enrolling them in the four urban tribes (Livy XLV 15. 1-9; Cic. *De Or.* I 38). The severity of Sempronius, the father of the Gracchi, is attested by the reproach of Q. Metellus Macedonicus to his son, Tiberius: when Sempronius was returning home after a dinner, the citizens used to put out their lights lest he think they had been overindulgent in eating and drinking (Plut. *Ti. Gracch.* 14. 3).

590 164

L. Aemilius L. f. M. n. Paullus (114) cos. 182, 168. Victor at Pydna.

Q. *Marcus* L. f. Q. n. Philippus (79) cos. 186, 169.

Fasti Cap. p. 25; *Fasti Ant.* in *Notizie degli Scavi* 1921, 128. Plut. *Aem.* 38. 5 and 6; Plin. *H. N.* VII 214; Val. Max. VII 5. 3.

According to Plutarch (*l. c.*), Paullus expelled three senators οὐ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν and in examining the equites he and his colleague showed equal moderation. The only other thing recorded of this censorship is that during his term of office Marcus attended to the decoration of a public square (Cic. *Dom.* 130; Plin. *op. cit.*).

595 159

P. Cornelius P. f. Cn. n. Scipio Nasica (353) cos. 162, 155.

M. *Popilius* P. f. P. n. Laenas (*6) cos. 173.

Fasti Cap. p. 25; *Fasti Ant.*; Cic. *Brut.* 79; Gell. IV 20. 11; Non. p. 168 M.

The only record preserved of these censors is of their building activities. *Lucius Piso prodidit . . . a censoribus P. Cornelio Scipione M. Popilio statuas circa forum eorum qui magistratum gesserant sublatae omnis praeter eas quae populi aut sententia statutae essent, eam vero quam apud aedem Telluris statuisset sibi Sp. Cassius qui regnum adfectaverat etiam conflatam a censoribus* (Plin. *H. N.* XXXIV 30). *Tunc Scipio Nasica conlega Laenatis primus aqua divisit*

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horas aequae noctium ac dierum idque horologium sub tecto dicavit anno urbis DXCV (Plin. *H. N.* VII 215).

See also Censor. *de Die Nat.* 23. 7 and Varr. *L. L.* VI 4.

600 154

M. Valerius M. f. M. n. Messalla (*45) cos. 161.

C. Cassius C. f. C. n. Longinus (55) cos. 171.

Fasti Cap. p. 25; *Fasti Ant.*; Cic. *Dom.* 130, 136; Piso frag. 38 in Plin. *H. N.* XVII 245.

The only report of their activity is *Cassius censor a Lupercali in Palatium versus theatrum facere instituit, cui in eo moliendo eximia civitatis severitas et consul Scipio restitere* (Vell. I 15. 3). Valerius Maximus, II 4. 2, adds: *atque etiam senatus consulto cautum est ne quis in urbe propiusve passus mille subsellia posuisse sedensve ludos spectare vellet ut scilicet remissioni animorum *standi virilitas propria Romanae gentis nota esset.*

607 147

L. Cornelius Cn. f. L. n. Lentulus Lupus (224) cos. 156.

L. Marcius C. f. C. n. Censorinus (46) cos. 149.

Fasti Cap. p. 26; *Fasti Ant.*; Val. Max. VI 9 and 10.

L. Lentulus consularis lege Caecilia repetundarum crimine oppressus censor cum L. Censorino creatus est (Val. Max. VI 10).

612 142

P. Cornelius P. f. P. n. Scipio Africanus Aemilianus (335) cos. 147, 134.

L. Mummius L. f. L. n. Achaicus¹ (7a, p. 1197) cos. 146.

Fasti Cap. p. 26; *Fasti Ant.*; Cic. *De Or.* II 268; *Brut.* 85; *Rep.* VI 11; *Off.* II 76; *Att.* XVI 13b. 2; Festus p. 286 M; Livy XL 51. 4; Vell. II 128. 2; Val. Max. VI 4. 2; Plin. *H. N.* XXXIII 57; Gell. XVI 8. 10; Auct. *de Vir. Ill.* 58. 9; Dio frag. 76. 1.

These censors let the contract for the building of the Pons Aemilius (Livy XL 41. 4) and the further adornment of the Capitoline temple.

Scipio's reproach against his colleague preserved in

Degrassi omits the *cognomen* because it does not occur in the *fasti Capitolini*.

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Val. Max. VI 4. 2, *se ex maiestate rei publicae omnia gesturum si sibi cives vel dedissent collegam vel non dedissent*, was occasioned by the latter's protest against his too severe measures, especially the removal by Scipio of Ti. Claudius Asellus from the *aerarii*. According to Münzer, in PW s.v. Mummius 7a, this episode can only be understood in the light of the party relations between the Claudii and Scipio, and he refers to his own *Römische Adelsparteien*, 265. Gellius, IV 20. 10 and V 19. 15, mentions speeches of Scipio in support of the *mores maiorum* and condemnation of the moral laxity of the times.

618 136 Ap. Claudius C. f. Ap. n. Pulcher (295) cos. 143. princ. sen.

Q. Fulvius M. f. M. n. Nobilior (95) cos. 153.

Dio frag. 81; Plut. *Ti. Gracch.* 4. 1; Festus p. 286 M.

These censors exercised their office with great severity.

623 131 Q. Caecilius Q. f. L. n. Metellus Macedonicus (94) cos. 143.

Q. Pompeius A. f. (*2) cos. 141.

Fasti Cap. p. 26; Livy *Per.* LIX; Suet. *Aug.* 89; Cic. *Fin.* V 82.

Q. Pompeius humili atque obscuro loco natus (Cic. *Verr. Act.* II V 181) but as an orator *non contemptus illis temporibus* (Cic. *Brut.* 96).

Q. Pompeius et Q. Metellus tunc primum uterque ex plebe facti censores. . . . Q. Metellus censor censuit ut cogerentur omnes ducere uxores liberorum creandorum causa. Exstat oratio eius quam Augustus Caesar, cum de maritandis ordinibus ageret, velut in haec tempora scriptam in senatu recitavit (Livy *Per.* LIX). In addition to this attempt to check the growing celibacy, a number of men were expelled from the senate.

629 125 Cn. Servilius Cn. f. Cn. n. Caepio (46) cos. 141.
L. Cassius Longinus Ravilla (72) cos. 127.

A. U. C. B. C.

Cic. *Verr. Act.* II I 143; Frontin. *Aquaed.* I 8; Cic. *Brut.* 97; Vell. II 10. 1.

These censors brought the aqua Tepula to Rome and punished Caepio's old adversary M. Lepidus Porcina because of his excessive luxury. Servilius was especially distinguished and feared as a judge. The perpetual question *Cui bono?* is characteristic of his procedure (Cic. *Rosc. Am.* 84).

634 120 Q. *Caecilius* Q. f. Q. n. Metellus Balaricus (82) cos. 123.

L. *Calpurnius* L. f. Piso Frugi (96) cos. 133.

Fasti Ant.; Cic. *Fin.* V 82; Val. Max. VII 1. 1; Vell. I 11. 7; Plin. *H. N.* VII 142.

Balaricus was the oldest son of the censor of 131.

639 115 L. *Caecilius* L. f. Q. n. Metellus Delmaticus (91) cos. 119.

Cn. *Domitius* Cn. f. Cn. n. Ahenobarbus (20) cos. 122.

Fasti Ant.; Livy *Per.* LXII; *Lex agrar. CIL* I² 2. 1. p. 460 v. XXVIII; p. 463 v. LXXXV-LXXXIX; Cic. *Verr. Act.* II I 143.

These censors removed thirty-two from the senate, among them C. Licinius Geta (Livy *Per.* LXII; Cic. *Clu.* 119; Val. Max. II 9. 9) and forbade theatrical performances except on the most modest scale (Cassiod. *Chron.* = Livy *Per.* LXII).

645 109 M. Aemilius M. f. L. n. Scaurus (140) cos. 115. princ. sen. Abdicated.

M. *Livius* C. f. M. n. Drusus (17) cos. 112. Died in office.

Fasti Ant.; Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 50.

Aemilius built the via Aemilia (Auct. *de Vir. Ill.* 8; Strab. V 217) and restored the pons Mulvius (Auct. *de Vir. Ill.* 72. 8; Amm. XXVII 3. 9). On the death of his colleague he refused to resign until the tribunes threatened him with imprisonment (Plut. *loc. cit.*).

A. U. C. B. C.

- 646 108 Q. Fabius Maximus Eburnus¹ (111) cos. 116.
C. Licinius Geta² (88) cos. 116.

Cic. *Clu.* 119; Val. Max. II 9. 9.

Valerius Maximus, VI 1. 5, states that Fabius in his censorship *exegit poenas a filio dubiae castitatis* and adds, *loc. cit.* 6, *Dicerem censorium virum nimis atrocem exstitisse.*

Licinius had been removed from the senate by the censors of 115.

- 652 102 Q. Caecilius Q. f. Q. n. Metellus Numidicus (97) cos.
109.
Q. Caecilius Q. f. Q. n. Metellus Caprarius (84) cos.
113.

Cic. *Dom.* 87; Vell. II 8. 2; Gell. I 6. 1-8.

These censors were cousins. Caprarius was the youngest son of the censor of 131 and the brother of the censor of 120.

Numidicus branded L. Appuleius Saturninus (Cic. *Sest.* 101) and wished to expel him from the senate along with Servilius Glaucia, but was prevented by his colleague (App. *B. C.* I 28). According to Orosius, V 17. 3, the indignation of the people became so great that he was in personal danger, but the occasion for this disturbance seems rather to have been his exclusion from the citizen body of L. Equitius, the pretended son of Ti. Gracchus and an adherent of Saturninus (*Frag.* of his *Elogium* in *CIL* I² p. 196 *el.* XIX; Cic. *Sest.* 101; Val. Max. IX 7. 1; Auct. *de Vir. Ill.* 62. 1).

Gellius, I 6. 1, states: *Multis et eruditis viris audientibus legebatur oratio Metelli Numidici, gravis ac*

¹ Degrassi omits the *cognomen* and explains in his letter (cited above) *incertum est utrum hic censor Eburnus aut Allobrogicus fuerit*. Valerius Maximus, VI 1. 5, calls him Servilianus, but according to PW s.v. Fabius 111, this Fabius was probably the son of Servilianus, and Valerius or his copyist is mistaken.

² Degrassi concludes from the *fasti Antiates* that this should be spelled *Getha*.

A. U. C. B. C.

deserti viri, quam in censura dixit ad populum deducendis uxoribus, cum eum ad matrimonia capessenda hortaretur.

657 97 L. Valerius L. f. L. n. Flaccus (*54) cos. 100. princ. sen. 96, 94.

M. Antonius M. f. M. n. (28) cos. 99.

Fasti Cap. p. 27; Cic. *De Or.* II 274; Val. Max. II 9. 5.

Both censors removed M. Duronius from the senate *quod legem de coercendis conviviorum sumptibus latam tribunus plebi abrogaverat* (Val. Max. II 9. 5). Duronius accused the censor Antonius of *ambitus* (Cic. *De Or.* II 274), but this attempt of a tribune against a censor doubtless failed like all other attempts.

As censor Antonius adorned the rostra *imperatoriiis manubiis*, therefore with booty from the Cilician war (Cic. *De Or.* III 10).

662 92 Cn. Domitius Cn. f. Cn. n. Ahenobarbus (21) cos. 96. L. Licinius L. f. C. n. Crassus (55) cos. 95. Abdicated.¹

Fasti Cap. p. 27; *Fasti Ant.*; Cic. *Brut.* 44; Plin. *H. N.* XVII 3; Val. Max. VI 5. 5.

Domitius was the son of the censor of 115. Of him his colleague, the distinguished orator, said, *non esse mirandum quod — aeneam barbam haberet cui os ferreum cor plumbeum esset* (Suet. *Nero* 2).

Both censors issued a well-known edict against the new schools of rhetoric (Suet. *Rhet.* 1; Gell. XV 11. 2). Apart from this the censors were engaged in a violent quarrel, probably because Domitius branded his colleague on account of his extravagance and love of display (Cic. *Brut.* 164, 165; *De Or.* II 227, 242; Val. Max. IX 1. 4; Plin. *H. N.* XVII 1-6).

665 89 P. Licinius M. f. P. n. Crassus (61) cos. 97. L. Iulius L. f. Sext. n. Caesar (142) cos. 90.

¹ The *fasti Capitolini* state that Licinius abdicated; the *fasti Antiates*, that both abdicated. Licinius died in 91; Domitius, before 89.

A. U. C. B. C.

Fasti Cap. p. 27; *Fasti Ant.*; Cic. *Arch.* 11; Plin. *H. N.* XIII 24; XIV 95; Val. Max. IX 2. 2; Festus p. 289M.

These censors were busy with the execution of the important innovations necessitated by the *lex Iulia* of the previous year and the supplementary *lex Plautia-Papiria*. They had put through a law against debauchery and extravagance (Plin. *op. cit.*). Crassus lived with his family in very modest circumstances (Plut. *Crass.* 1. 1).

- 668 86 L. *Marcius* Q. f. Q. n. Philippus (75) cos. 91.
M. *Perperna* M. f. (5) cos. 92.

Fasti Cap. p. 27; Cic. *Verr. Act.* II I 143; *Dom.* 84; Val. Max. VIII 13. 4; Censor. *de Die Nat.* 23. 7; Dio XLI 14. 5; Plin. *H. N.* VII 156.

PW s.v. *Marcius* 75 states that these censors had to consider the problems involved in the acceptance of the Italians into the citizen body. In the *lectio senatus* *Marcius* removed his own maternal uncle since the latter was a resolute opponent of the ruling party (Cic. *Dom.* 84).

- 684 70 Cn. *Cornelius* Cn. f. *Lentulus Clodianus* (216) cos. 72.
L. *Gellius* L. f. *Poplicola* (17) cos. 72.

Cic. *Verr. Act.* II V 15; *Clu.* 117-134; *Flac.* 45; *Dom.* 124; Pseudo-Ascon. *Verr.* p. 150 Or.; Plut. *Pomp.* 22. 4; *Apophth. Pomp.* 6; Livy *Per.* XCVIII.

In the restoration of the censorship which had been set aside by Sulla, these censors exercised their office with great strictness. They purged the senate of many doubtful elements which had crept in during the last half of the decade. Sixty-four senators were removed (Livy *Per.* XCVIII), including the consul of the previous year P. *Lentulus Sura* because of his immorality, and Cicero's later associate in the consulship C. *Antonius* (Ascon. *in Tog. Cand.* 75).

- 689 65 Q. *Lutatius* Q. f. Q. n. *Catulus* (8) cos. 78. Abdicated.
M. *Licinius* P. f. M. n. *Crassus Dives*¹ (68) cos. 70, 55.
Abdicated.

¹ Degrassi omits this *cognomen* because it does not occur in the *fasti Capitolini*.

A. U. C. B. C.

Dio XXXVII 9. 3; Plut. *Crass.* 13. 1.

Crassus wished to enroll the Transpadani as citizens, but was thwarted by his colleague. His proposal to annex Egypt was also thwarted so that in the words of Dio (*loc. cit.*): οὐδὲν οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπραξαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπέειπον.

690 64 L. Aurelius M. f. Cotta (102) cos. 65. Abdicated.

Dio XXXVII 9. 4; Plut. *Cic.* 27. 2; Cic. *Dom.* 84.

[693 61¹ C. Scribonius C. f. Curio (10) cos. 76. Abdicated.

699 55 P. Servilius C. f. M. n. Vatia Isauricus (93) cos. 79.
M. Valerius M. f. M. n. Messalla Niger (*76) cos. 61.
Cippi terminali del Tevere (CIL I² 766 a-t).

Servilius is referred to as *censorius* in Val. Max. VIII 5. 6 and Cicero, *Att.* IV 9. 1, alludes to *census*, *censura*, and *censores* 11. 2, *lustrum* 16. 14 = 17. 7. Servilius was over eighty when he became censor. In the second year of these censors, there was a severe flood of the Tiber (Dio XXXIX 61. 1 and 2). This caused them to undertake a more thorough regulation of the stream (CIL I² 766 a-t).

704 50 Ap. Claudius Ap. f. Ap. n. Pulcher (297) cos. 54.
L. Calpurnius L. f. L. n. Piso Caesoninus (90) cos. 58.
Abdicated.

Caes. *B. C.* I 3. 6; Tac. *Ann.* VI 10; *Invect. in Sall.* 16; Dio XL 63. 2; Cic. *Fam.* III 10. 3, and title of 3. 11.

Pulcher's own life was not above reproach, but he made severe decrees against the unlawful acquisition of works of art (Cic. *Fam.* VIII 14. 4; *Att.* VI 9. 5),

¹ De Boor and De Ruggiero are the sole authorities for this censorship and for the statement that Curio abdicated. They incorrectly assign his consulship to the year 78. Dio, XXXVII 46. 4, the only *testimonium* which they offer, does not name the censors of this year but states merely ἐν δὲ δὴ τῷ ἔτει ἐκείνῳ οἱ τε τιμηταὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς γενομένους ἐς τὸ βουλευτικὸν καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐσέγραψαν. PW s.v. Scribonius 10 mentions no censorship. There seems, therefore, no reason for assigning this or any other censorship to Curio.

A. U. C. B. C.

against the amount of land to be owned, and against debts. He expelled the historian Sallust from the senate because of immorality (*Invect. in Sall.* 16; Dio XL 63. 4) and C. Ateius because of manipulation of the auspices (*Cic. Div.* I 29). In general, Appius showed himself hostile to the partisans of Caesar.

Of Calpurnius, Münzer states in PW s.v. Calpurnius 90, *cf.* Dio XL 63. 2-4, that he did not want to be censor; that he appears to have taken a position between the parties inasmuch as he removed the Caesarean Sallust from the senate, but took Curio under his protection.

712 42 C. Antonius M. f. C. n. Hybrida¹ (19) cos. 63. Died in office.

P. Sulpicius P. f. Rufus (93) praet. 48.

Fasti Colot. CIL I² p. 64.

Apparently Antonius died soon after his election and these censors did not complete the lustrum.

726 28² Imp. Caesar Divi f. C. n. Octavianus (132) cos. VI.

M. Vipsanius Agrippa (*3) cos. 37, 28, 27.

Fasti Venus. CIL I² p. 66; Mon. Anc. II 8; CIL IX 422; Hieron. Chron. 1989; Dio LII 42. 1; Suet. Aug. 27. 5.

732 22 L. Munatius L. f. L. n. Plancus (30) cos. 42, 36. Abdicated.

L. Aemilius L. f. M. n. Lepidus Paullus (82) cos. suff. 34. Died in office.

Fasti Cap. p. 28; Fasti Colot. p. 64; CIL I² p. 64, 65, 68; VI 10286; Dio LIV 2. 1; Vell. II 95. 3; Val. Max. VI 8. 5; Suet. Claud. 16; Ner. 4; Plin. H. N. XIII 25.

Ante quae tempora censura Planci et Paulli acta inter discordiam neque ipsis honori neque rei publicae usui fuerat, cum alteri vis censoria, alteri vita deesset (Vell. loc. cit.). Augustus completed their task.

¹ Degrassi omits this *cognomen* since it does not occur in the *fasti Capitolini*.

² Degrassi omits this college from his list *quod a. 28 fuerunt consules censoria potestate*.

II. A COMPARISON OF THE "GENTES CENSORIAE" WITH THE "GENTES CONSULARES"

In the following tables are given the number of consulships (in order of frequency) held by each *gens*, the number of individuals in those *gentes* who were consuls,¹ and the number of censors furnished by each *gens*. In the first period studied, there is considerable question about the genuineness of some of the individual consuls and consular tribunes, but this does not affect the question of the relative importance of the consular *gentes* which appear in that period. There is no question about the genuineness of the censors included in this study, or of any of the consuls after the year 366. In the tables I have not included the censors of any colleges rejected by Beloch or myself.

The period of the Republic has been divided as follows: 443 to 367, the year of the Sextian-Licinian Laws; 366 to 287, the year of the Hortensian Law; 286 to 133, the tribunate of Tiberius Gracchus; 132 to 80, the dictatorship of Sulla; and 79 to 30 B.C.

443-367				443-367			
<i>Gens.</i>	Consulships.	Consuls.	Censors.	<i>Gens.</i>	Consulships.	Consuls.	Censors.
Cornelii.....	31	18	..	Lucretii.....	8	3	..
Furii.....	27	10	1	Menenii.....	8	4	..
Valerii.....	24	7	..	Veturii.....	6	4	..
Quinctii.....	21	12	..	Geganii.....	5	3	..
Fabii.....	18	9	..	Nautii.....	5	3	..
Servilii.....	16	4	1	Sempronii.....	4	2	..
Manlii.....	15	10	..	Verginii.....	4	2	..
Papirii.....	15	10	1	Claudii.....	2	1	..
Aemilii.....	14	5	..	Cloelii.....	2	2	1
Sulpicii.....	14	5	1	Aebutii.....	1	1	..
Iulii.....	12	8	..	Pinarii.....	1	1	1
Sergii.....	11	4	..	Quinctilii.....	1	1	..
Postumii.....	9	7	2				

It is noteworthy that out of the twenty-five consular *gentes* which occur in this period only seven are represented in the list of censors of

¹ These include the military tribunes with consular power. Naturally, the number of consulships frequently exceeds the number of consuls as one man might hold several consulships.

443 to 367. The very powerful Aemilii, Corneli, Fabii, and Valerii do not occur at all.

In the following lists, plebeian *gentes* are italicized. *Gentes* which do not appear in the *fasti* before 287 are marked with an *.

366-287				286-133			
<i>Gens.</i>	Consulships.	Consuls.	Censors.	<i>Gens.</i>	Consulships.	Consuls.	Censors.
Valerii.....	13	5	1	<i>Claudii Marcelli</i>	10	4	1
Cornelii.....	12	9	1	* <i>Caecilii</i>	7	6	..
Fabii.....	11	5	3	<i>Iunii</i>	7	7	2
Sulpicii.....	10	4	1	<i>Marcii</i>	6	4	3
Papirii.....	9	3	1	<i>Aelii</i>	5	5	2
Aemilii.....	8	5	..	* <i>Aurelii</i>	5	4	1
<i>Iunii</i>	7	4	1	<i>Licinii</i>	5	5	1
<i>Marcii</i>	7	3	2	Quinctii.....	5	5	1
<i>Plautii</i>	7	4	1	Furii.....	4	4	1
Manlii.....	6	3	1	<i>Livii</i>	4	3	1
<i>Decii</i>	5	2	1	<i>Popillii</i>	4	3	1
Postumii.....	5	2	1	<i>Domitii</i>	3	3	1
<i>Genucii</i>	4	3	..	<i>Flaminii</i>	3	2	1
<i>Publilii</i>	4	1	1	<i>Genucii</i>	3	2	..
Claudii.....	3	2	1	* <i>Lutatii</i>	3	3	1
Furii.....	3	2	1	* <i>Mucii</i>	3	3	..
Servilii.....	3	1	..	* <i>Cassii</i>	2	2	1
Quinctii.....	2	1	..	<i>Curii</i>	2	1	1
<i>Carvili</i>	1	1	1	<i>Fabricii</i>	2	1	1
<i>Maenii</i>	1	1	1	Papirii.....	2	2	1
Sempronii.....	1	1	1	* <i>Porcii</i>	2	2	1
286-133 ¹				Veturii.....	2	2	1
Cornelii.....	35	30	10	<i>Caedicii</i>	1	1	1
Aemilii.....	17	12	4	<i>Duillii</i>	1	1	1
Fabii.....	17	12	2	<i>Mummii</i>	1	1	1
<i>Fulvii</i>	15	12	4	132-80			
Valerii.....	14	14	3	Cornelii.....	12	8	..
<i>Atilii</i>	13	8	3	* <i>Marii</i>	8	2	..
Claudii.....	13	12	4	* <i>Caecilii</i>	8	8	5
Sempronii.....	13	10	4	* <i>Aurelii</i>	4	4	..
Manlii.....	11	8	2	* <i>Cassii</i>	4	4	1
Postumii.....	11	10	3	<i>Licinii</i>	4	4	3

¹ The censors of 485/269, L. Aemilius Barbula and Q. Marcius Philippus, are not included in this table. Their inclusion, however, would not in any way affect the conclusions drawn from this study.

132-80				79-50			
Gens.	Consulships.	Consuls.	Censors.	Gens.	Consulships.	Consuls.	Censors.
Valerii.....	4	4	I	Domitii.....	2	2	..
Domitii.....	3	3	2	Iulii.....	2	2	..
Aemilii.....	2	2	I	Valerii.....	2	2	I
Calpurnii.....	2	2	I	Gellii.....	I	I	I
Fabii.....	2	2	I	*Lutatii.....	I	I	I
Iulii.....	2	2	I	Servilii.....	I	I	I
Marcii.....	2	2	I	Sulpicii.....	I	I	..
Perpernae.....	2	2	I	49-30			
*Pompeii.....	2	2	I	Iulii.....	8	2	..
*Antonii.....	I	I	I	Cornelii.....	6	6	..
Livii.....	I	I	I	Aemilii.....	3	2	..
Servilii.....	I	I	I	*Antonii.....	2	2	I
79-50				*Cocceii.....	2	2	..
*Caecilii.....	5	5	..	Domitii.....	2	2	..
Aemilii.....	4	4	..	Marcii.....	2	2	..
Cornelii.....	4	4	I	*Pompeii.....	2	2	..
Licinii.....	4	3	I	Valerii.....	2	2	..
*Aurelii.....	3	3	I	Claudii.....	I	I	..
Calpurnii.....	3	3	I	Licinii.....	I	I	..
Marcii.....	3	3	..	*Scribonii.....	I	I	..
*Pompeii.....	3	I	..	Servilii.....	I	I	..
Claudii.....	2	2	I	Sulpicii.....	0	0	I
Claudii Marcelli	2	2	..				

In the period 366 to 287, of the twenty censors, twelve were patrician, eight plebeian. Of the seventeen *gentes* these represent, ten were patrician, seven plebeian. The only *gentes* which produced more than one censor were the powerful Fabii with three and the Marcii with two. It is noteworthy that the Valerii which rank first in the number of consulships and second in the number of consuls produced only one censor, that the Cornelii who rank first in the number of consuls and second in the number of consulships produced only one censor, while the Aemilii produced none. One may conclude, therefore, that prior to 286 the censorship was not regarded as an important office. The great period in the history of the censorship is the following, 286 to 133, and it is in this period that the four most noteworthy censorships occur, that of M. Livius Salinator and C. Claudius Nero in 204, that of L. Valerius Flaccus and M. Porcius Cato in 184, that of M. Aemilius

Lepidus and M. Fulvius Nobilior in 179, and that of C. Claudius Pulcher and Ti. Sempronius Gracchus in 169.

In the period from 286 to 133, of the sixty-five censors, thirty-six were patrician, twenty-nine were plebeian, but of the thirty-two *gentes* represented twelve were patrician, twenty were plebeian. It is noteworthy that even in this period when the number of plebeian *gentes* represented is so much in excess of the patrician, the patrician *gentes* actually furnished slightly more than half of the individual censors. The number of censors furnished by each *gens* corresponds approximately to the number of individual consuls and consulships supplied by each *gens*, except that the patrician branch of the Claudii who rank third in the number of consuls and fifth in the number of consulships are represented by only four censors, while the powerful plebeian Caecilii with six consuls and seven consulships have no censor at all.

In the period from 132 to 80 we find, as we should expect, a tremendous increase in plebeian influence. Of twenty-two censors, only five are patrician as against seventeen plebeian. Of the fifteen *gentes* represented five are patrician, ten plebeian. The Caecilii, who tie with the Cornelii for first in the number (eight) of consuls and with the Marii for second in the number (eight) of consulships, rank first in the number of censors with five. The Cornelii, on the other hand, who rank first in the number of consulships (twelve) and as one of the first in the number of consuls (eight) and who were far the most powerful *gens* in the previous period with ten censors as contrasted with the four each furnished by the Aemilii, Fulvii, Sempronii, and patrician Claudii, are not represented by a single censor in this period. The only other consular *gentes* not represented in the *fasti censorii* of this period are the Marii and Aurelii.

In the final period from 79 to 30 the plebeian influence is much less marked than in the preceding. Out of eleven censors, five are patrician and six plebeian, and out of eleven *gentes* represented six are plebeian and five are patrician. No *gens* is represented by more than one censor in this period. It is noteworthy that the prominent consular *gentes* of the period 79 to 50, the Caecilii with five, the Aemilii with four, and the Marcii with three, are not represented at all in the *fasti censorii*, and the Cornelii, who rank as second with the Aemilii, are represented by only one censor. Between 49 and 30, the only college of censors

occurs in 42 with a patrician Sulpicius and a plebeian Antonius, but they did nothing and did not complete the *lustrum*. The most prominent consular *gentes* of this period, the Iulii, Cornelii, and Aemilii, are not represented at all.

III. A SUMMARY OF THE ACTIVITIES OF THE CENSORIAL COLLEGES

Censorships marked with a ? are rejected by Beloch.

Censorships marked with a * are rejected by the writer.

Colleges with no check (x) in any column presumably completed the *lustrum*, but no activity is recorded.

A. U. C.	B. C.	Did not complete the lustrum	Active in the review of the senate and equites	Censorial laws or regulations	Building activities
311	443*?	..	..	..	..
319	435?	..	..	..	..
324	430	..	..	x	..
336	418*?	..	..	..	..
351	403	..	..	x	..
361	393?	..	..	..	..
365	389*	..	..	..	..
374	380	x	..	..	..
376	378	x	..	..	..
388	366?	..	..	..	..
391	363	..	..	..	..
396	358*?	..	..	..	..
403	351	..	..	..	..
414	340*?	..	..	..	..
422	332	..	..	..	..
435	319*?	..	..	..	..
436	318	..	..	..	x
442	312	..	x	x	x
447	307	..	x	..	x
450	304	..	..	x	..
454	300	..	..	x	..
460	294	..	..	..	..
c464	c290	..	..	..	..
471	283	x	..	..	..
474	280	..	..	..	..
479	275	..	x	..	..
483	271	..	..	..	x
485	269*	..	..	..	..

A. U. C.	B. C.	Did not complete the lustrum	Active in the review of the senate and equites	Censorial laws or regulations	Building activities
489	265	..	..	X	..
496	258	..	..	..	..
501	253	X	..	..	..
502	252	..	X	..	..
507	247	..	..	..	..
513	241	..	..	..	..
518	236	X	..	..	..
520	234	..	..	..	..
523	231	X	..	..	..
524	230	..	..	..	..
529	225	..	..	..	..
534	220	..	..	X	X
540	214	X	X	..	..
544	210	X	..	..	..
545	209	..	..	..	..
550	204	..	X	X	X
555	199	..	..	X	..
560	194	..	..	..	X
565	189	..	..	..	..
570	184	..	X	X	X
575	179	..	X	X	X
580	174	..	X	..	X
585	169	..	X	X	X
590	164	..	X	..	X
595	159	..	..	..	X
600	154	..	..	..	X
607	147	..	..	..	..
612	142	..	X	..	X
618	136	..	X	..	..
623	131	..	X	X	..
629	125	..	X	..	X
634	120	..	..	..	..
639	115	..	X	X	..
645	109	X	..	..	X
646	108	..	..	..	..
652	102	..	X	..	..
657	97	..	X	..	X
662	92	X	..	X	..
665	89	..	..	X	..
668	86	..	X	..	..
684	70	..	X	..	..

A. U. C.	B. C.	Did not complete the lustrum	Active in the review of the senate and equites	Censorial laws or regulations	Building activities
689	65	x	..	..	..
690	64	x	..	..	..
693	61*	x	..	..	..
699	55	..	..	..	x
704	50	x	x	x	..
712	42	x	..	..	..
726	28	..	..	x	x
732	22	x	..	..	..

With two exceptions we know nothing about the activities of the censors before 318. From 318 to 22 there were fifty-nine colleges exclusive of the college of 485/269 and the very doubtful college of 693/61. Thirteen of these fifty-nine colleges, or approximately one-fourth, failed to complete the *lustrum*. It is significant that seven of these uncompleted *lustra* occur after 109. Only twenty-one colleges, or approximately one-third, are known to have expelled members of the senate. Only twenty are mentioned for their building activities, and sixteen for censorial enactments not connected with the *lectio*.

IV. CONCLUSION

The *locus classicus* for the origin and development of the censorship is Livy IV 8. 2-6. The following statements are in entire harmony with the results of this study:

Neque differri census poterat neque consulibus, cum tot populorum bella imminerent, operae erat id negotium agere. Mentio inlata ad senatum est rem operosam ac minime consularem suo proprio magistratu egere. . . . Et patres quamquam rem parvam, tamen quo plures patricii magistratus in re publica essent, laeti acceperere, id quod evenit futurum, credo, etiam rati, ut mox opes eorum qui praeessent ipsi honori ius maiestatemque adicerent.

It is significant that prior to the year 366 when the patricians controlled the consulship absolutely, the Aemilii, Cornelii, Fabii, and Valerii are not represented in the *fasti censorii* at all; that in the period 366 to 287 the Aemilii are still unrepresented, while the Cornelii and the Valerii furnish only one censor; that in the period 286 to 133 the powerful plebeian *gens*, the Caecilii, are not represented at all, nor are

the Corneli in the period 132 to 80. Evidently, in spite of its great potentialities in connection with the *lectio senatus* and the letting of contracts for public works, this office was never a political plum like the consulship. Because of their untimely deaths one would not have expected the Gracchi to hold the office, but perhaps it was not accidental that it was never held by Marius, Sulla, Cicero, or Julius Caesar. Moreover, of the forty-eight *gentes censoriae*, only eleven were *gentes* which first appear in the *fasti* after 287. The first entirely plebeian board of censors appears in the year 131. Five more appear before 80 during the period when the plebeian influence was predominant. The seventh in 65 abdicated after a few months. Except for the Gracchan period, therefore, the patrician influence in this office was predominant. Most of those who held the office appear to have been men of exceptional character. The deterioration which marks the history of the consulship does not appear here.

THE FIRST ENNEËTERIC DELIAN PYTHAÏS

IG II² 2336

BY STERLING DOW

A FEW years before 100 B.C., the Athenians founded a new Pythaïs. During each of the next several years, certain magistrates were expected to make pecuniary offerings to Apollo. The magistrates and their offerings were listed in an inscription which grew eventually to a considerable length. It was a time when many Athenian democratic institutions were under a strain; some in fact had not long to survive. For this particular period, and in some respects for the two preceding centuries, the list of magistrates has long been recognized as one of the more informative documents. Scholars have returned to it often — Ferguson no less than six times¹ — primarily, and successfully, to establish its external chronological and historical bearings. What has remained to be done is largely an internal study. The basis but only the basis of this study is given here: the new text is published to make available now six new fragments, a new join of old fragments, and various new readings and restorations. The readings and restorations have been studied repeatedly by me, and doubts remain only where the notations indicate uncertainty: for most practical purposes, the text is continuous throughout. Except for some aspects such as the new complications in Years V–VI, the various notable aspects of the document are perhaps not evident on a first reading; prolonged study, however, has disclosed much, and it is clear that the eventual commentary has to be so interrelated that the discussion of variant readings cannot be detached for publication here.

History of the Stele and of the Text. The stele itself was set up in the old southwestern quarter of the Agora; the precinct of Apollo Patroös may well have afforded space for the list honoring Apollo Pythios. In *ca.* A.D. 267 the stele was uprooted, along with several others from the same general area,² and carried away for use in the wall built for

¹ Bibliography, *supra*, nos. 3, 6, 31, 44, 108, 128.

² For this and for what follows, see *Hesperia* II (1933) 427–429; but the mean date there given should be changed to the final date, 96 B.C.

protection against the invading Goths. Whole buildings were being used for the same purpose, so that stones even heavier than these large stelai were abundant; the stelai were smashed into pieces for use as fill in a tower. Here most of the fragments lay buried, their surfaces being thus protected, until a Greek excavation in 1851 brought to light most of the numerous fragments now known. Of the Pythaïs list, P. Eustratiades published some 44 fragments,¹ and K. S. Pittakys added four others.² Koehler incorporated these 48 fragments in his edition *IG II*¹ 985. Subsequently, before the fragments were built into the present stele (E[pigraphical] M[useum, inventory no.] 10398), which stands in the southwest corner of the Epigraphical Museum, five fragments became separated from the rest. Of these, Fragments *z*, *n'*, and *q'* are "lost" (perhaps they are in the museum, on the shelves containing small bits); Fragment *w* is preserved as E.M. 2725 (the inscription is entered in the E.M. inventory after no. 8074), and Fragment *b* as E.M. 5260.

Following these early editions, the reconstructor of the stele inserted Fragments *i-k-l* between *f* and *n*. V. von Schoeffer (*De Deli insulae rebus: Berl. Stud. class. Philol. u. Archaeol.*, IX, 1 [1889] 244) noted briefly the proper place, between *a'* and *f'*. Ferguson (*Klio* IX [1909] 309-312), without having seen the fragments, was able to prove that this was correct, and he drew up the new text of lines 219-275. Kirchner's edition (*IG II*² 2336, published in 1931) is chiefly notable because Kirchner argued for the first time that the Pythaïs in question was not Delphian but Delian. Kirchner's restoration of line 2 was incorrect, but this is immaterial: his opinion, supported by Ferguson (*Tribal Cycles*, 147, n. 1) and the present study, is demonstrably correct. The present text incorporates six new fragments, as follows:

Fragment *y'* (this numbering of fragments follows *IG II*² 2336) = E.M. 12799. Parts of lines 1-6. After the above-mentioned excavations of 1851-1852, a wall was built about the area (most of the wall appears in the photo-

¹ 'Επιγραφὰι ἀνέκδοτοι ἀνακαλυφθεῖσαι ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀρχαιολογικοῦ Συλλόγου. Φυλλάδιον τρίτον (Athens, 1855). For the present study I have not had access to this work, but Koehler (*IG II*¹ 985) appears to report scrupulously the variant readings of Eustratiades.

² 'Εφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική, φυλλ. 39, dated 1854 but published shortly after the

graph in *Πρακτικά*, 1910, 137). In 1934, when the wall was demolished, I. Bakales of the Agora staff found for me several inscribed fragments among the stones of which it was built (*Hesperia*, III [1934] 187), among them the upper left corner of *IG* II² 2336, which preserves the top, the moulding, and the left side.

The area of the Agora Excavations was subsequently extended to include this same plot, where the excavations of 1851-1852 and of 1910 had taken place. The precise location is Section III in the Agora plan, *Hesperia* IX (1940) 360. Three more pieces of *IG* II² 2336 were found, in February 1936, namely Fragments *a''*, *c''*, and *d''*. In the nearby Section BB, a fourth new Fragment, *z'*, was found on March 23, 1939. Professor B. D. Meritt has kindly permitted me to publish these four fragments here.

Fragment *z'* = Agora inventory no. I 5734. Parts of lines 1-8. The text was furnished by Meritt and by W. K. Pritchett, who had identified the fragment.

Fragment *a''* = Agora I 3320. Parts of lines 9-13. Meritt has checked the text.

Fragment *b''* = *IG* II² 2454 = Agora I 3456. Parts of lines 173-180. Found by K. Kourouniotes in a reëxcavation of the area where in 1851-1852 the other fragments had been found (*Πρακτικά* for 1910 [published 1911], 142, no. 8). Identified by me, as mentioned by Ferguson in *Am. Journ. Philol.*, LIX [1938] 233-234; Dinsmoor, *Archon List*, 1939, p. 204. The inscriptions found by Kourouniotes had been deposited in the Stoa of Attalos and have recently been included in the Agora collection. Text from the stone and my squeeze.

Fragment *c''* = Agora I 3323. Parts of lines 220-223. Identification and text from my squeeze.

Fragment *d''* = Agora I 3321. Parts of lines 243-247. Identification and text from my squeeze.

I had delayed publication of Fragments *y'* and *b''* in the hope of returning soon to Athens to rebuild the stele. When this is possible, a photograph of the whole will be published. For the present text, I have used three complete squeezes of E.M. 10398 made after cleaning the plaster from the edges of the fragments, and my own squeezes also

edition by Eustratiades (see Pittakys' note, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1854, p. 1249 n. 1). Koehler knew only three such fragments, *h* (= Pittakys, no. 2484), *w* (= 2488), and *h'* (= 2489). To these Pittakys, no. 2493, should be added: he calls it part of a base, and to support this notion he gives it a great thickness (though betraying himself by not mentioning an exact figure); the text is identical, and leaves no doubt that Pittakys, no. 2493 is Fragment *o*. Since this text does not appear separately in the Corpus, Koehler, when he included it in *IG* II¹ 985, evidently forgot to record, or was not aware of, Pittakys' publication.

of the others, except as noted above; I have seen all of the preserved fragments except *z'*. Each of the new fragments undoubtedly joins one or more old fragments.

At the end of his commentary, Koehler prints a text of a small lost fragment which he could neither unite with, nor positively divorce from, *IG II*¹ 985. The right side, he says, is preserved.

He gives the following text:

J | K | Ω ///
 \ Ω Τ Ε
 γ ~

Line 1 is doubtless Νικίω[ν]. Line 2 is either [᾽Α]λωπε[κῆθεν] or (?) a name, or some expression not found in *IG II*² 2336. Since no succession of two lines beginning respectively with a name and a demotic, or two names, is now admissible in Column I of *IG II*² 2336, the fragment is positively excluded from the whole inscription.

Text. The *design* of the inscription is simple: a four-line preamble extending across the face of the stele from side to side just under the moulding; and directly following the preamble, a list in two long columns, filling the remainder of the surface, except for the usual blank space at the very bottom. The list is divided into seven annual panels (called herein, for convenience, Year I, Year II, etc.); all of these panels were originally separated from each other by a blank space of one line in height, but the blank spaces following Years II, V, and [VI] were eventually filled by tardy entries. Each panel consisted of a simple rubric cut in one line or two; and a list of entries, each entry consisting of a title, a name with or without patronymic, but regularly with a demotic, and finally a numeral to indicate the amount paid (normally 50, or 100, or 200 drachmai).

The *numbers of the lines* are necessarily different from those in *IG II*² 2336.

The *diacritical marks* used are those advocated by the Leyden Conference, as set forth most accessibly in the preface to *IG II*² iii, i (1935: the fascicule containing dedicatory inscriptions). Though believing that in general uniformity is desirable, I have departed in one particular from the Leyden rules. According to *das Leydener Klammersystem*, letters inscribed in an area which previously had been

erased are not to be indicated in the text as standing *in rasura*; they are to be so indicated only in the commentary. In the present text, such letters *in rasura* are of unusual interest; moreover the length of the text and its necessary remoteness from the eventual commentary would make it difficult for the reader not to overlook important details, if such details were mentioned only in the commentary. I have therefore reverted, for this particular exigency alone, to the pre-Leyden system: I have enclosed in rectangles (e.g. in line 2) letters inscribed as second texts in areas which previously had been inscribed and erased. All other *rasurae* are dealt with according to the Leyden rules, and all *rasurae* are to be discussed in the commentary.

Spacings are estimated as closely as possible, but hardly any estimates can claim strict accuracy. Variations in sizes of letters from line to line, spaces left blank within lines, and indentations are the upsetting factors.

In Year II the letter-cutter left *blank spaces* not only between words — these are indicated in the text — but also within words. The blank spaces within words, which are due solely to the whim of the letter-cutter and are usually short, are not indicated in the text.

The *letters underlined* were read by previous editors and are now missing, due to chipping of edges and the loss of Fragments z, n', and q'. A dot under an underlining indicates that I have found reason to doubt whether the letter dotted was fully enough preserved to be identified (if at all) independently of its context.

The positions of the *individual fragments* are not indicated, since nothing essential depends on them here, and all will be clear in the eventual photograph. Meantime IG II¹ 985 is useful. Every fragment is now placed with certainty in relation to several others.

In small italics to the left of the Greek text there are entered identifications of the various *letter-cutters* who were employed from time to time to inscribe the text, the word *Hand* being used for brevity. The letter-cutters, *Hand A*, *Hand B*, etc., are named primarily from the letter-cutters who inscribed the Archontes of the various seven years, since each group of Archontes was inscribed *en bloc* by one letter-cutter. All of the letter-cutters who inscribed Archontes were different except that in Year V, when two groups of Archontes were entered, the letter-cutter of Year IV (*Hand D*) was employed for both. *Hand E*

is a letter-cutter whose most important work is the entries of the exceptional multiple offices held by Medeios and Sarapion in Years V and VI. *Hand G* designates a letter-cutter whose work appears solely in Year VII; *Hand H* did lines 135-136, 220-223, 245-246.

Each entry of the form e.g. *Hand A* applies to all the lines which follow that entry (barring three exceptions in Year I and one in Year II, as noted) down to the next entry of the form e.g. *Hand B*. Thus for instance, lines 125, 126, 127, and 128 were all cut by *Hand B*.

All of the identifications designated *Hands A-H* are, I believe, indubitable. Characterizations of each of these eight hands, and evidence for the identifications, must naturally wait until photographs of the stele, once it has been reconstructed, can be published.

There remain 13 entries comprising 21 whole lines, and parts of four other lines, which were inscribed by letter-cutters whom I cannot now identify. None of these 17 unidentified entries is obviously by *Hand A, B, E, F, or G*; several may well be by *C or D or perhaps H*, others apparently are by letter-cutters not included in the group *A-H*. It has seemed best at this stage to designate all these 17 entries as by *Hand X*, although they certainly are not all by the same letter-cutter. But every change of hand has been marked: lines 129 and 130, for instance, are both by the same letter-cutter, whoever he was.

The identification of the various letter-cutters comprised under *Hand X*, if it can ever be made, will reveal nothing, I think, of large consequence, and will always be of secondary interest compared to the positive determination as to exactly where one letter-cutter left off and the next began, throughout the entire list.

For convenience, the seven annual panels are here printed on separate pages. *On the stone there are no gaps except the one-line gaps each indicated by "vacat."*

PREAMBLE	Not stoichedon: line one 69 letters, line two 69, line three 67.
<i>Hand A</i> (The Preamble extends across the face of the stele directly under the moulding.)	<div> <div>Ἄγαθὴ τύχη τῆς βουλῆς κ[αὶ τοῦ] δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων·</div> <div>ὁ κεχειροτο<ν>[ημέν]ος ἐπὶ τὴν ἑξαποστο</div> <div>ν λήν τῆς Πυθαίδος καὶ τὰς ἀπαρχὰς τῆς πρώτης ἐν νεετη-</div> <div>ρί[δος Ἀμφικρ]άτης Ἐπιστράτου Πε</div> <div>3 ριθοίδης ἀνέγραψ[εν] τοὺς δόντας τῶν ἀρχόν-</div> <div>τ ων τὰς ἀπαρχὰς [τ]ῶι Ἀπό[λλ]ω[νι] τῶι Πυθίῳ κα</div> <div>4 τὰ τὸ ψήφισμα [ὁ Φα]νότιμος ἐγ Μυρρι[νο]ύτης εἶπεν.</div> <div style="text-align: center;">vacat to right margin</div> </div>

Column I
YEAR I

103/2 B.C.

5
(Column I begins with line 5, which follows line 4 without a break; Column I occupies the left side of the stele, continuing down to the bottom at line 151.)

10

(Column II [lines 152-275] begins just to the right of line 6, and continues down the right half of the stele to the bottom.)

15

Lacuna of
two lines?

25

Name and demotic
but not numeral by
Hand X, rest by A.

40

Numeral and part
of demotic by
Hand X, rest by A.

Demotic by Hand
X, rest by A.

45

^{vvvv} οἶδε ἀπήξαντο ἐπὶ Θεοκλέους ἄ[ρχον]τος

[στρα]τ[ηγ]ὸς [ἐπὶ] τὰ ὄπλα Ἀμμόνι os

[Δημητρίο]ν Ἀναφλύστιος

[κῆρυξ βουλῆς τ]ῆς ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου

^v [name demotic]

ἄρχων [Θεοκλῆς - demotic -]

βασίλευς [- name - demotic -]

πολέμαρχ[ος - name - demotic -]

[θεσ]μοθέτ[αι]

[- name? - demotic? -]

Νικ[ίας] [?] - demotic -

Μειδίας [- demotic -]

Δωσίθεος [- demotic -]

Διονύσιος Χ[ολαργεύς]

Ἀπολλώνιος [- demotic -]

20 ναύαρχος Κηφισ[- - - - demotic -]

στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τ[ὴν] παρασκευήν]

^v τ[ὴν] ἐν ἄστει Ἰάσ[ων - demotic -]

ἐπιμελητῆς τ[οῦ] ἐμ Πειραιεῖ λιμέ]

^v νος Δημέας Ἀ[λαιεύς]

[ἐπιμελ]ητῆς [Δήλου] [?] Διοσκούριδης]

^v [demotic]

γυμ[ασί]αρχος εἰ]ς Δῆ[λον]

^v Μητρόδωρος Κυ[δαθηνα]ιεύς

ἀγορανόμοι [εἰ]ς Δῆ[λον]

30 [- - ^{4 1/2} -]σίας Σουნიεύς

Ἑρμοκλῆς [- -] [?] [-]

ἐπὶ τ[ὴν] φυλακὴν τῶν ἐ[ερ]ῶν χρη

^v μάτων Θεότιμος Αἰξωνεύς

Ξενοκλῆς Ῥαμνούσιος

35 ἱερεὺς Ἀπόλλωνος ἐν Δήλῳ

^v Ἀμμόνιος (Π)αμβωτάδης

ἱερεὺς ^v Ἀρτέμιδος ἐν νή[[σ]]σῳ

^v Ἀγαθοκλῆς ^v Ἀγκυλῆ[θ]εν

ἱερεὺς Ῥώμης Πυθίλαος [Σο]υνιεύς

ἱερεὺς Ἀνίου Τίμων Σκαμ[β]ωνίδης

ἱερεὺς Σαράπιδος ἐν Δήλ[ω] Δ[ράκων]

ἱερεὺς ἀγνῆς θεοῦ Διόφ[αν]τος Μαρ[αθώ] [[νι]]

κῆρυξ εἰς Δῆ[λον] Γλαυκία[ς Κρι]ωνεύς

ἱερεὺς Διὸς Κυνθίου Ζή[ν]ων[ς] [Κ]ηφισιεύς

ἱερεὺς Διονύσου

vacat

vacat

HH

H]

H]

H]

H]

H]

H]

H]

H]

H]

H]

Π]

Π]

H]

HH]

H]

[H]

H]

H

H

H

H

H

Π

Π

H

H

[[Π]] H

Π

		[οἷ]δε [ἀπέδωκαν τ]ὰς ἀπαρχὰς	
		[ἐπὶ Ἐχεκράτ]ους ἄρχοντας	
		[σ]τρατη[γὸς] ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα	
50		[Σ]αραπίω[ν Μ]ελιτεὺς	HH
		ἄρχων Ἐχεκράτ[η]s - - ⁵⁻⁶ -]ιεύς	H
		vacat	
	Name by Hand E, rest by B.	πολέμαρχος Διότιμος ^o Μα ^u ραθώνιος	H
		θεσμοθétαι	
55		Ἀριστώνυμος Ἐλευσίnius	H
		Θέων Ἐρχιεύς	H
		Βάκχιος Ἀχαρνεύς	[H]
		[Ἀ]λκιβιάδης ^o Ποτάμιος	[H]
		Παντακλῆς Βερενικίδης	H
60		[Θ]εόπομπος Κεφ[αλήθ]ε[ν]	H
		vacat	
		vacat	
		[ἐπιμελητῆς Δήλου Θεόδο]τος Σουνιεύς	HH
		[ἐπὶ τὴν δημοσίαν τράπεζαν τὴν] ἐν Δήλῳ	
65		[- name - - - ca. 18 - - - demotic -]s	HH
		[- title in plural - - ca. 22 - - name - -]os Μα ^u ραθώνιος	
		[- name - - ca. 18 - - demotic - -]os	HH
		[ἐπὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τῶν ιε]ρῶν χρημά[των]	
		[- name - ca. 21 demotic - -]μόκριτος Ἀχαρ[νεύ]s	HH
70		[- title - - ca. 19 - - name - -]s Σουνιεύς	H
		[- title - - ca. 20 - - name - -]ειος	H
		[γυμνασίαρχος εἰς τὸ ἐν Δήλῳ γ]υμνάσιον	
		[- name - less than 25 demotic -]	H
		[ἐπιμελητῆς ἐμπορίου ²]	^o
		[- name - - demotic - -]	HH
	Lacuna, possibly of as many as 10 lines.	[ιερεὺς Ἀπόλλωνος ἐν Δήλῳ]	
		[- name - - demotic - -]	H
		[ιερεὺς Ῥώμης ² - - name - - demotic - -]	H
		ἀγ[ορανόμοι ² - - name - - demotic - -]	H
		Κάλλι ^u [- - - demotic - -]	H
80		ιερεὺς Διο[νύσου - name - - demotic - -]	P
		ιερεὺς Ἀνί[ου - name - - demotic - -]	P
		ιερεὺς Ἀρτέμ[ιδος ἐν νήσῳ]	
		Θεόμνηστος [Κυδαθηναίους]	H
85		ιερεὺς Σαράπιδος Α[- - - demotic - -]	P
		ιερεὺς ἀγνῆς θεοῦ Θεα[- - - demotic - -]	H
		ιερεὺς Διὸς Κυνθίου Δημήτ[ριος - demotic - -]	H
		ἐπιμελητῆς τοῦ ἐμ Πειρα[ιεῖ λιμένος]	
		Βύττακος ^o Ἀαμπτρε[ύς]	H
90		στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ [τ]ὴν παρασ[κευή]ν τὴν ἐν ἄστει	
		Τιμοῦχος ^o Ῥαμνούσι[ος]	P
		ναύαρχος Πύθων ^o Μελιτεὺς	H
		κῆρυξ εἰς Δήλον Φίλων ^u Παιανιεύς	H

YEAR III

Hand C 101/0 B.C.

95

οἶδε ἀπέδωκαν τὰς ἀπαρχὰς ἐπὶ Μηδείου

στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα Ἀπο[λλό]δωρος M[- - - - HH]

[ἄρ]χων Μῆδ[ε]ος Πειραιεύς H]

[βασιλεὺς ^{1 1 2}πιδοτ[-]s Προβα[λίσ]ιος H]

[πολέμαρχ]ος Ἀντίπατρος Κυδα[θη]ναιεύς H]

θεσμοθέται

100 [- ^{ca.}6- -]ος Εὐ[ω]νυμεὺς [H]

Ἀρτεμίδωρος Βερениκίδης [H]

Φυλότιμος Κικυννεὺς [H]

Ἀπολλωνίδης Λακιάδ[η]s [H]

Πόπλιος Ἀλαιοὺς H [H]

First numeral by
Hand of line 105.

Hand X 105

κῆρυξ Ἀρεοπαγιτῶν Θεόχαρις ἐκ Κεραμέων

Hand C

στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν

Διονυσιογένης Ἀνα[γ]υράσιος <P>

ἐπιμελ<η>τῆς Πει[ρα]ϊέ[ω]s

Κηφισόδωρος Αἰ[ξ]ων²εὺς H

110 ἐπιμελητῆς Δῆ[λ]ου

Καλλίστρατος ^{ca.}4-εὺς HH

ἐπιμελητῆ[s ἐμ]πορί[ω]

<A>ριστίων ^v[ἐ]ξ Οἴου HH

ἀγορανόμοι

115 [- ^{ca.}4-]ιος ἐκ Κερα[μέ]ων, Ἀλέξανδρος HH

ἐπὶ τ<α> ἱερὰ

Δεινίας Παλληνεὺς H

Φιλήμων H

γυμνασίαρχος εἰς {s} Δῆ[λ]ον

120 Διονυσόδωρος Δειρ[αδιώτ]ηs H

κῆρυξ εἰς Δῆλον

Μύρων Λευκονοεὺς [H]

ἱερεὺς Ἀπόλλωνος ἐν Δῆλῳ

Ἀντικράτης Ἐπικηφίσιος [H]

Hand B 125

ἱερεὺς Ἀρτέμιδος [ἐ]ν νήσῳ

Φ[ι]λοκλῆς [Κολωνῆθ]εν H

[ἱερ]εὺς Διο[νύ]σου

Ἀσκληπιάδης Ἀλαιοὺς P

Hand X

ἱερεὺς Πρώμης

130 Δημήτρι<ο>s Αἰ[ξ]ων[εὺ]s H

Hand X

ἱερεὺς Ἀνίου Νυμφόδωρος P

^v[ἐ]κ Κεραμέων {r}

Hand E

ἱερεὺς ἀγνῆς θεοῦ ἐν Δῆλῳ

Ἀριστόνους Πρωτάρχου Σφήττιος H

Hand H 135

ἱερεὺς Σαράπιδος ἐν Δῆλ[ω]

Θεόβιος Διονυσίου Ἀχαρνεὺς N

vacat

YEAR IV

Hand D
100/99 B.C.

Hand E

140

οἶδε ἀπέδωκαν τὰς ἀπαρχὰς

ἐπὶ Θεοδοσίου ἄρχοντο[ς]

στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τ[ὰ ὄπλα]

Ἑστιαῖος [Θε]οχάριδος ἐκ Κεραμέων

HH

Hand X

ἐπιμελητῆς Δήλου

Σαρ[α]πίων Μελιτεὺς

HH

Hand D

κῆρυξ εἰς Δήλον

145

Φιλομηλείδας Κυδαθη[να]ιεύς

H

Hand X

ἐπιμελητῆς τοῦ ἐν Πειραιεῖ

λιμένος Διονύσιος Παλληνεὺς

H

Hand E

ναύαρχος Θέων Παιονίδης

P

Hand B

ιερεὺς Ἀπόλλων[ο]ς ἐν Δήλῳ

150

Δημήτριος Δημη[τρί]ου

Ἀ<ν>αφλύσ[τιος

H]

End of Col. I.

vacat to the bottom of the stele: not space left blank for more entries

Col. II begins here
Hand D

[κῆρυξ β]ουλῆς τῆς ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου

[^{v. ca. 51/2} -]ίστρατος Σφήττιος

H

[ἄρ]χω[ν Θε]οδόσ[ιο]ς Λακιάδης

H

155

[β]ασιλε[ὺς] Καλλίμαχος Λευκονοεὺς

H

[π]ολέμα[ρ]χος Σωσιγένης Ἐλαιούσιος

H

θεσμοθέ[ται] Τιμόθεος Κ[ηφι]σιεὺς

H

Δωσίθεος [ἐ]γ. Μυρρινού[τ]της

H

Μένανδρος Παιανιεύς

H

160

Σῶσος Φλυεὺς

H

Ξενοκλῆς Ῥαμνούσιος

H

Λαφάης: Σουνιεύς

H

vacat

YEAR V

<i>Hand B</i>	99/8 B.C.	165	οἶδε ἀπέδωκαν τὰς ἀπαρχὰς ἐπὶ Προκλέου[ς ὠ]ρχοντος	
<i>Hand E</i>			στρ[ατηγὸς] ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα [Μήδειος Μηδείου] Πειραιεὺς	HH
			[ναύαρχος - ^{ca. 5} - Εὐ]ωνυμεὺς	Ρ
<i>Hand D</i>			[ἄρχων Προκλῆς - ^{demotic} -]	H
		170	[βασιλεὺς - ^{name} - ^{demotic} -]	H
			[πολέμαρχος - ^{name} - ^{demotic} -]	H
			[θεσμοθέται - ^{name} - ^{demotic} -]	H
			[- ^{ca. 8} - -]ς Ὅτ[ρυνεὺς ²]	H
			[^{ca. 3} ων ὕ]φλυεὺς[ς]	H]
		175	[^{ca. 4} -]κράτης Χολα[ργεὺς]	H]
			[^{ca. 4} -]λης Θριάσιος	[H]
			ἰ[σ]αυ[σί]στρατος Ἑρριό[δης]	H]
<i>Hand E</i>			ἐμπ[ο]ρίου ἐπιμελητῆς	
			Ἀρχίας Διογένου Ἀνα[φλύστιος]	HH]
<i>Hand B</i>		180	στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν Διονύσιος Δημητρί[ου Ὑ]αίξ[ων]εὺς	Ρ]
<i>Hand E</i>			κῆρυξ βουλῆς τῆς ἐξ [Ἀρείου πά]γου	
			^{vv} Ἀθηνόδωρος Ἀθηνο[δῶρου Αἰξ]ωνεὺς	[H]
<i>Hand E</i>			ἁ]γνοθετης Παν[αθην]αίων	
		185	^{vv} [Μήδε]ι[ος] Μηδείου Πειραιεὺς	HHΡ
Lines 184-191 were inscribed on a different occasion than lines 182-183. The subsequent erasures were filled still later by Hand E.			ἐπὶ τὴν δημοσίαν τράπεζαν τὴν ἐν Δήλῳ	
			^{vv} [Μήδε]ι[ος] Μ[η]δείου Πειραιεὺς	HH
			ἀγνοθετ[ης Δ]ηλίων	
			^{vv} [Μήδειος] [Μηδείου] Πειραιεὺς	HHΡ
	98/7 B.C.		ἐπιμελητῆ[ς Δήλου]	
			^{vv} [Μήδειος] Μ[η]δ[είου] [[Πειραιε]ύς]]	HH
<i>Hand D</i>	98/7 B.C.		κῆρυξ βουλῆς τῆς ἐξ Ἀρε[ίου π]άγου	
			^v Πύρρος Πύρρου Λαμπ[τρέ]υ[ς]	H
	98/7 B.C.		ἄρχων Ἀργεῖος Ἀργεῖ[ου Τρικορύσιο]ς	[H]
		195	βασιλεὺς Ἀρχωνίδης Ναυκράτου ἐκ Κεραμέων	H]
			πολέμαρχος Ἀριστίων Εὐδόξου Μελιτεὺς	H
			θ[εσμοθ]έται Ἀπο[λλ]ώνιος Νικάνδρου Κυθήρριος	H
			Σκαμά[νδ]ρ[ιος] Ὀλ[υμπίχου] Ἀφιδναῖος	H
			Φιλίας Ἐ[φόρου] Πτελεάσιος	H
		200	Φιλίων Φ[ιλίων]ος Ἐλευσίνιος	H
			Βούλων Α[εωστ]ράτου Παλληνεὺς	H
			Αακρατείδης[ς Σωστ]ράτου Ἰκαριεὺς	H
<i>Hand X</i>	99/8 B.C.		ἐπιμελητῆ[ς Δήλου]	
			^v Πολύκλειτος[ς Ἀλεξάνδρου Φλυ]εὺς	HH
<i>Hand E</i>		205	^v ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερὰ Θεό[χαρις Ἑστιάου] ἐκ Κερα[μέων]	H

YEAR VI

(*Hand E*, 98/7 B.C.
same occasion,
continuing)

οἶδε ἀπέδωκ[αν τὰς ἀπαρχὰς ἐπὶ] Ἀργείου ἄρχοντος
^{vv}στρατηγὸς [ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα]

[Σ]αραπίων Σαραπίωνος Μελιτεὺς HH

[^{vv}ἄ]γωνοθέτης Ἐλ[ευσινίων]

210 Σαρ[α]πίων Σαραπίωνος Μελιτεὺς HH^P

^{vv}ἄγων[οθέτ]ης Διο[γυσίων ἐν Δήλῳ²]

Σαραπίων [Σαρα]πίωνος Μελιτεὺς HH

^{vv}ἄγωνοθέτῃ[s] Πα[ναθηναίων]

[Σαρ]απίων Σαραπίωνος Μελιτεὺς HH]^P

215 [^{vv}ἄγ]ωνοθέτης Δηλί[ων]

[Σαραπί]ων Σαραπίωνος Μελιτεὺς HH]^P

[^{vv}στρατηγὸς] ἐπ[ὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν]

Lacuna of two lines?
(Priest of Apollo)
Hand X Inscribed in
the interline

[-- ^{ca.} 9½ --]s Διο[---- - demotic -]^P

[^vἐπὶ τὰ ἱερ]ᾶ Διοφ[α]ν ---- demotic - name? demotic? H²H]

Hand H 220

ἱερεὺς ἀγνῆ[s] Ἀφροδ[ίτης ἐν Δήλῳ]

Θεόβιο[s] Διον[υ]σίου Ἀ[χαρνέως] P²



[ἐπιμελ]ητ[ὴς] Πειραι[έως]

[- ^{ca.} 5 -]ω[^{1½}]θεος X[-----] P²

Lacuna?

[Probably missing: the line usually left blank between panels, here filled by a late entry]

YEAR VII

	97/6 B.C.	[οἶδε ἀπέδωκαν τὰς ἀπαρχὰς ἐπὶ Ἡρακλείτου]	
Hand X	Lacuna?	[στρατηγ]ὸς ἐπὶ τὸ ναυ[τικὸν]	
		[^v Χαρία]ς Χαρίου Αἰθαλίδης	[^p]
Hand E	98/7 B.C.	[ἐπ' Ἀργείου] ἄρχοντος ἀγορανόμος εἰς Δῆλον	
		[- - ^{ca.} 7? - -] υπεταίων	H
Hand X	230	[- - ^{title} ^{ca.} 10 - -] Δημήτ[ριος Θεοδοσίου Λακιάδης	H
		[- - - ^{title} - - ^{ca.} 17 - - - -] ποσ Φιλοκράτου Φυλάσιος	H
Hand G		[ἐπιμελητῆς] Δήλου	[[HH]]
		[Ἀριστίων ἐξ Οἴ]ου	HH
		[ἱερεὺς Ἀπόλλωνο]ς ἐν Δήλῳ	[[H]]
	235	[- ^{name} ^{ca.} 14½ ^{demotic} -]ς	H
		[ἐπὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τῶν ἱε]ρῶν χρημάτων	
		[- ^{ca.} 6 -]  [- - ^{ca.} 8 - -] ἔστιαι]όθεν	H
		[Χαρίας] Αἰθαλίδη[ς]	H
		[ἐπιμελ]ητῆς Πει[ραιέ]ως	
	240	[[Π[σ] - ^{ca.} 6½ - - ς]] [- ^{ca.} 6½ -]ης	H
Hand B		ἱερεὺς] ἀγνῆς Ἀφροδίτη]ς ἐν Δήλῳ	
		^{ss} Γαί[ος Γαίου Ἀχαρνεὺς]ς	H
Hand X	99/8 B.C.	ἐπὶ Προκλ[έους ἄρχοντος ἱερε]ὺς Ἀπόλλωνος	
		ἐν Δήλῳ Π[ρωτ]ογένη[ς Φ]ιλάδης	H
Hand H	245	ἱερεὺς Διὸς Κυν[θίου ἐ]ν Δήλῳ[ι]	
		Θεόβιος Διονυσ[ίου] Ἀχαρνεὺς	N
Hand B		ἱερεὺς Ἀρτέμι[δο]ς ἐν νήσῳ	
		Μαρσύας Μαρσύο[υ Με]λιτεὺς	[H]
Hand F		κῆρυξ βουλῆς τῆς ἐξ [Ἀρεί]ου πάγου	
	250	Ἀνδρέας Ἀνδρέου [Πειραιεὺς	H]
	97/6 B.C.	[ἄρ]χων Ἡ[ρ]άκλειτος Ἡρ[- ^{ca.} 5½ -] Σφήττιος	H
		β[α]σιλεὺς] Ἀρίστων Π[αντακ]λέους Γαργήττιο[ς]	H]
		πολ[έμαρχ]ος Ἀντικράτ[ης Φιλίσκο]υ Ἐπικηφίσιος	H
		[θεσμ]οθ[έται]	
	255	Νικόνου[ος - - ^{ca.} 7 - - ἐκ] Κηδῶν	H
		Διογένης Σ[^{ca.} 3½ Κυδαθ]ηναιεὺς	H
		Δημήτριος  [- ^{ca.} 6½ - - Παι]ονί[δης]	H
		Κλειτόμαχος [Διογνήτου] Φλυεὺς	[H]
		Ζήνων Ἀρίσ[τωνος Μ]αραθώνιος	H
	260	Ἀργεῖος Ἀ[σκληάπωνος Ἀτ]ηνεὺς	H

(Year VII is continued on the following page.)

YEAR VII cont.

Hand B

στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ [τὰ ὄπλ]α Πύρρος Πύρρου Λαμπρεὺς

HH

Hand G

στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν

Ἀρχίας Διογένου [Ἀνα]φλύστιος

Ρ

Hand X

ἱερεὺς Σαράπ[ιδος ἐν] Δήλω[ι]

265

ΕΤΚΕ[- - -^{ca.}8- - -]μου Εἰτσαῖος

Ρ

Hand B

στρατηγὸς [ἐπὶ τὴν πα]ρασκευὴν τὴν ἐν ἄστει

Ἀγαθοκλῆς Σω[σ]ικρά[το]υ Οἰναῖος

Ρ

Hand G

ἱερεὺς Ῥώμης

Δημήτριος Ἀσκληπίδου Ἀλαιοὺς

H

270

στρατηγὸς [ἐπὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν

Ἀρε[σίας] Ἀρχεστράτου Κυδαθηναίους

Ρ

γυμ[νασίαρ]χος εἰς τὸ ἐν Δήλῳ γυμνάσιον

Δά[μων Ἰκ]αριεὺς

H

Hand B

ὁ ἐπ[ὶ τὴν δη]μοσίαν τράπεζαν τὴν ἐν Δή

275

[λῳι Βύττακ]ος Πύρρου Λαμπρεὺς

HH

vacat to the bottom of the stele

MACEDONICA¹

BY CHARLES EDSON

I. A DEDICATION OF PHILIP V

THE following inscription was discovered by Mr. J. M. R. Cormack and myself at the village Hagioi Apostoloi, the ancient Pella, on November 6, 1936. It served then as a top step to the house of Κωνσταντῖνος Γκέτσιος, a resident of the village. Since the difficult position of the stone together with a continuous driving rain made it impossible to procure adequate squeezes and photographs, I returned to Hagioi Apostoloi on June 30, 1938 and completed the study of the inscription.

A block of white marble. The left side is original, the right side roughly recut. The top is badly worn and is deeply scored through the center from front to back. The bottom is cut back leaving a projecting edge at the front, apparently in order to permit the block to rest on a base. The back is rather unevenly broken away.

Height, 0.225 m. Width (maximum extant), 0.88 m. Thickness (maximum extant), 0.345 m. Top of stone to top of first line, 0.045 m. Height of letters, 0.025 m.; but of omicron and omega, ca. 0.015 m. Vertical interspace, 0.012 m. Photographs of stone and squeeze: figures 1 and 2.

Βασιλεὺς Φίλιππος
Βασιλέως Δημητρίου
Ἡ[ρ]ακλεῖ Κυναγίδ[αι]

Though the inscribed surface is very badly damaged, the first two lines are easily legible. Line 3 offers greater difficulties. The left hasta of the eta appears on the squeeze. The rho is entirely missing. The right diagonal bar and the apex of the alpha are visible on squeeze

¹ This is the first of what is intended to be a series of studies on the Greek inscriptions of Macedonia. I wish to take this occasion to express my appreciation to Professor Nikolaos Kotzias, Ephor of Antiquities for Macedonia and Thrace, and to Mr. Charilambos Makaronas, Curator of the Saloniki Museum, for their invariable courtesy and helpfulness to me during my stay in Macedonia.

and stone. The damaged kappa is clear, as is the succeeding lambda. The outline of the epsilon is evident, and the upper extremity of the iota appears above a break in the surface. The four deeply cut apices of the succeeding kappa show clearly on the squeeze and are discernible in the photograph of the stone. The outline of the upsilon appears on the squeeze. The right perpendicular hasta of the nu is visible, and it is to be noted that the surface of the stone has broken out precisely in the angle between the left perpendicular hasta and the diagonal bar. The left diagonal bar and the apex of the alpha appear clearly. The top horizontal hasta of the gamma is complete and enough of the surface is preserved to show that the letter cannot have been epsilon. The succeeding iota and delta are all but completely preserved.

We have, then, a dedication by Philip V to Heracles Kynagidas. This is the first certain evidence for the cult of Heracles Kynagidas in pre-Roman Macedonia and the first attestation of the cult at Pella. Up to the present no dedications to Heracles Kynagidas have been found in Macedonia east of the Axios.¹

I have shown elsewhere that the Antigonid kings claimed descent from Heracles, that is, from the Argeadae, and have argued that they were particularly interested in the cult of Heracles Kynagidas.² This text would seem to be all but decisive confirmation for that contention.

The royal style employed in this dedication is not that used by Philip V in his dedications at Delos and at Rhodes: βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος βασιλέως Δημητρίου.³ In their examination of the royal style of the Antigonid kings, Dow and Edson have suggested that dedications by the kings in Macedonia itself would probably have the simple form βασιλεὺς *nomen* βασιλέως *nominis*.⁴ The style used in this dedication agrees with that suggestion.⁵

¹ See Edson *Harv. Stud. Class. Philol.* XLV (1934) 228 note 3, and 230-231. See also Keramopoulos 'Αρχ. Ἐφημ. 1933, 44-45.

² Edson *op. cit.*, especially pp. 226-232.

³ See Dow and Edson *Harv. St.* XLVIII (1937) nos. 21, 22, and 23, on pp. 136-137.

⁴ *Op. cit.* 139.

⁵ There exists an unpublished fragmentary dedication by Philip V in the Museum at Saloniki which has the same style.



FIG. 1



FIG. 2

ΒΟΣΑ
Α.ΘΥΠΑΤΟΣ
ΛΑΤΟΜΙΑΣΕΠΟΗΣ
ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣΝΑ

5 ΕΠΙΠΕΡΕΩΣΚΑΙΑΓΩΝ
ΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ·ΚΑΙΣΑ
ΥΙΟΥΣΕΒΑΣΒΑΣΤΟ
ΩΣΤΟΥΝΕΙΚΟΠΟΛ
ΔΕΤΩΝΘΕΩΝ ΔΩ
10 ΠΟΥ·ΡΩΜΗΣΔΕΚ
ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΩΝ·ΝΕΙΚ
ΠΑΡΑΜΟΝΟΥ·

ΠΟΛΕΙΓΑ
ΔΙΟΓΕΝΟΥΣΤΟ
15 ΚΛΕΩΝΟΣΤΟΥΠ
ΖΩΠΑΓΟΥΚΑΛ
ΕΥΛΑΝΔΡΟΥΤΟΥ
ΠΡΩΤΟΓΕΝΟΥΣ
ΤΟΥΚΑΙΠΡΟΣΤΑΤ
20 ΤΟΥΕΡΓΟΥ·ΤΑΜ
ΕΩΣΩΝΟΣΤ

ΑΡΧΙΤΕΚ
ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟ

Fig. 3

II. STATE CULTS OF THESSALONICA ¹

1. Of the inscriptions discovered by Duchesne and Bayet during their epoch-making sojourn at Saloniki in 1874 the following is the most important: ² *Fragment de stèle de om,70 sur om,25 dans les démolitions de la porte Kalimari (estampage).*

Duchesne's text is reproduced in figure 3.

The nature of lines 5 ff. of this document is sufficiently clear: it consists of a list of priests and magistrates of Thessalonica. The obvious formula of lines 5-7 establishes the number of letter spaces per line (counting iota as a half-space) as $22 \pm$. With this inscription L. Robert ³ has rightly associated the following fragment, which was copied by J.-B. Germain, chancellor of the French Consulate at Saloniki in 1745 and 1748: ⁴ *Morceau de marbre à la première marche de l'escalier de la maison du nommé Philippin, en entrant à sa taverne.*

ΑΠΕΛΛΑΤΟ
ΑΙΣΑΡΟΣΙΣΙ
ΨΑΙΩΝΕΤΕ
ΠΟΛΙΤΑΡΧ
5 ΟΥΜΑΡΚΟΥ
ΙΥΣΙΟΥΑΜΕΙΙ
ΤΗΣ·ΤΑΛ
ΧΙΤΕΚΟΝΟΥΝΤΟ...

As Robert has seen, line 3 of Germain's fragment contains the formula appearing in lines 10-11 of Duchesne's inscription, and these lines are therefore to be restored:

ΠΟΥ· Πώμης δὲ κ[αὶ τῶν Πωμαίων]
εὐεργετῶν· κτλ.

¹ I am greatly indebted to Professor A. D. Nock and to Dr. Robert Schlaifer for their suggestions and criticism.

² Duchesne et Bayet, *Mémoire sur une mission au Mont Athos*, Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, Paris (1876), no. 1, pp. 11-12.

³ *Études Anatoliennes*, Études orientales publiées par l'Institut français d'Archéologie de Stamboul, V, Paris (1937), p. 448 note 3.

⁴ H. Omont, "Inscriptions grecques de Salonique recueillies au XVIII^e siècle par J.-B. Germain," *Revue Archéologique*, Troisième Série, XXIV (janvier-juin 1894), no. 38, p. 213.

which precisely fills the spatial requirements (22 ½ letter spaces).

In lines 8-10 Robert, following Duchesne, restores *-ιέρως*][δὲ τῶν θεῶν· δῶ[δεκα -]][ΠΟΥ. But this attractive restoration gives rise to difficulties. δῶ[δεκα in line 9 would leave only at the most eight letter spaces in line 9 which, plus ΠΟΥ at the beginning of line 10, give only eleven or twelve letter spaces for the name and patronymic of the priest together with the definite article τοῦ; the names of the priest and of his father would be forced to average ca. 4 ½ letter spaces each. If we retain Robert's δῶ[δεκα, spatial considerations would seem to demand the following restoration for lines 8-10:

- - ιέρως]
δὲ τῶν θεῶν· δῶ[δεκα καὶ Φιλίπ]
που· κτλ.

This restoration precisely fills the spatial requirements and obeys the law of syllabification. Were it correct, we should have evidence for a cult of the Twelve Gods and Philip II at Thessalonica. The historical importance of such a cult need hardly be emphasized, as it would give decisive confirmation to Diodorus' statement that Philip II became *σύνθρονος* with the Twelve Gods.¹

But this restoration is inadmissible. It would demand a single priest for two combined cults, that of the Twelve Gods and Philip II and that of Rome and the Benefactor Romans. Though perhaps not impossible, this seems sufficiently abnormal. Furthermore, there exist in the Saloniki Museum at least two inscriptions which contain lists of priests of Thessalonica,² and in these inscriptions the priest in question appears simply as *ιέρως* (τῶν) θεῶν. Moreover there is another unpublished fragment in the Saloniki Museum which contains a portion of a list of names of the early imperial period.³ Among

¹ Diodorus XVI 92, 95. The truth of these statements by Diodorus has been denied by N. G. L. Hammond (*Classical Quarterly* XXXI [1937] 91 and note 3). There is, however, unpublished epigraphical evidence from Philippi which has a decisive bearing on this point.

² These inscriptions will doubtless be included by Professor S. Pelekides of the University of Saloniki in his forthcoming edition of the unpublished inscriptions of that city.

³ No inv. number. This fragment will presumably be published by Professor Pelekides. The letters are well cut and of large size. The text would seem to be part of an official document of some kind.

these is a Φίλιππος Δωσιθέου.¹ It is hence apparent that the restoration of lines 8-10 must be:

- - ιερέως]
δὲ τῶν θεῶν· Δω[σιθέου τοῦ Φιλίπ]
που· κτλ.

This occupies twenty-four letter spaces and thus suits the spacial requirements.

The following restoration of lines 5-12 of Duchesne's inscription may be offered:

5 ἐπὶ ιερέως καὶ ἀγων[οθέτου αὐ]
τοκράτορος· Καίσα[ρος θεοῦ]
υἱοῦ Σεβαστο[ῦ ? Νεικοπόλε]
ως τοῦ Νεικοπόλ[εως· ιερέως]
δὲ τῶν θεῶν· Δω[σιθέου τοῦ Φιλίπ]
10 που· Ῥώμης δὲ κ[αὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων]
εὐεργέτων· Νεικ[ca. 6 τοῦ]
Παραμόνου·[vacat]

The appearance of a proconsul in line 2 indicates that our text is to be dated before 15 A.D. or after 44 A.D., for from 15 to 44 Macedonia was an imperial province.² It is also to be noted that no Roman names appear among the priests and other listed officials and magistrates: this strongly suggested a date quite early in the imperial period. Furthermore, Augustus is not yet *divus*. In combination these considerations indicate that the inscription is to be dated during the reign of Augustus.

2. The following fragmentary inscription was discovered by me in May 1938 amongst the debris in the church of Saint Demetrius in Saloniki.³ It consists of four fragments which join to form two larger complexes.

¹ The name Δωσιθέος is attested at Thessalonica: Duchesne et Bayet *op. cit.* no. 2, p. 13, of ca. 100 B.C.; Avezou and Picard *BCH XXXVII* (1913) no. 10, p. 101 [now in the Saloniki Museum: inv. no. 1824], fairly early imperial.

² H. Gaebler, *Die Antiken Münzen von Makedonia und Paionia*, erste Abteilung, Berlin, 1906, p. 8; F. Geyer *RE XIV* col. 765 ff.

³ For permission to publish this inscription I am indebted to Professor Nikolaos

Fragments *A* and *B* join and preserve original surfaces at the top, left, and bottom; at the right they are broken away. On Fragment *A* there is a clamp cutting at the top left. Fragments *C* and *D* join, preserve original surfaces at the right and bottom, and are broken away at the top and left. The space between the bottom of the last extant line and the bottom of the stone, particularly towards the left, is greater than the interspace, yet the tops of the letters of line 12 do not show. Moreover the lower edge of Fragments *B* and *D* has clear anathyrosis. The text was therefore continued on another stone.

Original height (Fragments *A* plus *B*), 0.60 m. Extant height of Fragments *C* plus *D*, 0.41 m. Maximum extant width of Fragment *A*, 0.31 m. Maximum extant width of Fragment *D*, 0.265 m. Maximum thickness, ca. 0.09–0.10 m. Top of stone to top of first line, 0.07 m. Height of letters, ca. 0.04 m. Vertical interspace, ca. 0.005 m. The back edges of the stone on the right and left sides are cut down to a thickness of only about 0.05 m. (see figure 4, bottom). The thickness towards the center is as stated from 0.09 to 0.10 m. This stone, therefore, in the form of a plaque, was so cut as to enable it to be fitted into a hollow space between two blocks.

The letter forms, though somewhat elongated and carelessly cut, are conventional and are appropriate to the first century of our era.

For photographs of the front face see figure 4, top; of the back, figure 4, bottom.

ἡ πόλις κ[αὶ οἱ συμπραγματευόμενοι]
 'Ρωμαῖο[ι ἐπὶ ἱερέως καὶ ἀγωνοθέ]
 του αὐτ[οκράτορος Καίσαρος θε]
 οῦ υἱοῦ [θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ] Γαῖου ν
 5 'Ιουλίου [- - - ^{ca.}8 - - - ἱερέ]ως Διὸς
 'Ελευθε[ρίου καὶ 'Ρώμης Ζ]ωτλου(<)
 φύσει δ[ὲ - - - ^{ca.}8 - - - θεῶ]ν 'Αντι
 δότο[υ τοῦ - - - ^{ca.}8-9 - - -]ς 'Ρώμης
 καὶ 'Ρω[μαίων - ^{ca.}6-7 - -]οδώρου
 10 τοῦ 'Ιλ[άρου πολιταρχ]ούντων
 'Επικ[τήτου τοῦ - ^{ca.}4-5 -]δος Σω

cetera desunt

Line 1. At least one unpublished inscription in the Saloniki Museum attests a *conventus* of Roman citizens at Thessalonica. Elsewhere in

Kotzias, Ephor of Antiquities for Macedonia and Thrace. I made a very thorough search through the debris in the church but succeeded in finding no more fragments. But it is quite possible that new fragments may yet come to light.

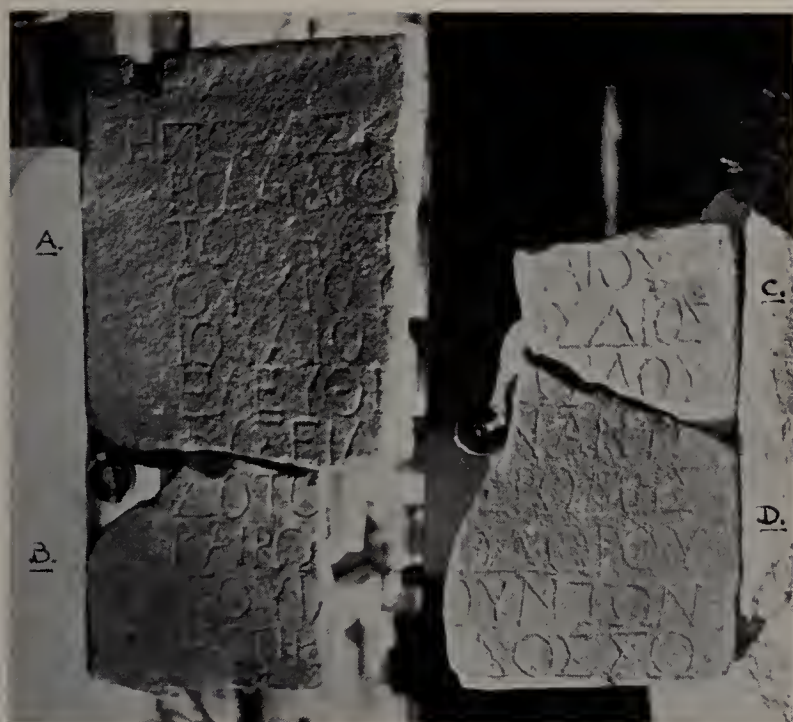


FIG. 4

Macedonia *conventus* are known at Acanthus,¹ Beroea,² Edessa,³ and Styberra.⁴

Line 4. Space requires the restoration of θεοῦ before Σεβαστοῦ. In Fragment C enough of the surface has been preserved to show that the initial letter must have been gamma. There is perhaps a trace of the top horizontal bar.

Lines 4-5. The name of the priest is appropriate for the Julio-Claudian or Flavian periods, which agrees well with the letter forms.

Lines 5-6. A cult of Zeus Eleutherios and Rome is attested also at Abdera during the early empire.⁵ An unpublished dedication from Petres (formerly Petersko) in western Macedonia shows that this cult existed in Macedonia in the late Hellenistic period.⁶

Line 6. The stonecutter has carelessly omitted the sign of affiliation.

Line 7. One may note that in this text also δώδεκα does not occur.

Line 9. Δι]οδώρου is the shortest possible proper name. But this leaves only five to six letter spaces for εὐεργετῶν. It is therefore apparent that εὐεργετῶν was omitted. This text is more concise than Duchesne's, as witness the uniform omission of the definite article in the cult formulae. Ἀπολλ]οδώρου or Διονυσ]οδώρου are possible.

Line 10. Ἰλ[ἄρου precisely fills the available space. Ἰά[χχου (cf. Duchesne et Bayet *op. cit.* no. 62 pp. 44-45, now inv. no. 1764 of the Saloniki Museum) is a possibility.

Line 11. Or of course Ἐπικ[τησίλου. There is enough of the original surface extant before the ΔΟΣ to show that the preceding letter did not have a right perpendicular or an upper horizontal bar. One thinks of a feminine name - - - ἰ]δος. Compare Newton *Ancient Greek*

¹ M. N. Tod *BSA* XXIII (1918-1919) no. 13, pp. 85-86.

² Delacoulonche *Revue des Sociétés Savantes* V (1858, 2e Semestre) p. 763 and no. 33, p. 791 [whence Demitsas *Μακεδονία* no. 58, p. 70]; Wace and Woodward *BSA* XVIII (1911-1912) no. 37, p. 164.

³ Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, III, London, 1835, p. 277, and no. 139 on Plate 29 [whence *CIG* 1997d; Le Bas II no. 1345, p. 315; Demitsas *op. cit.* no. 3, p. 35]; Bormann *Arch.-epigr. Mitt.* XII (1888) no. 6, p. 189.

⁴ N. Vulič *Spomenik* of the Serbian Academy LXXI (1931) no. 501, p. 186.

⁵ Avezou and Picard *BCH* XXXVII (1913) no. 42, pp. 138 ff.

⁶ Now preserved at the Saloniki Museum: inv. no. 1281. I am obliged to Professor Kotzias for his permission to cite this text. The letter forms are hardly later than 100 B.C.

Inscriptions, Part II, no. CLXXI, p. 32, from Thessalonica in which one of the politarchs is Σωσιπάρχου τοῦ Κλ[εο]πάτρας and the treasurer of the city is Ταύρου τοῦ Ἀμμίας. There are many other examples in Macedonia.

3. The inscriptions previously considered have shown the existence of four priesthoods in Roman Thessalonica: (a) a priest and agonotheite of Augustus, (b) a priest of Rome and the Roman Benefactors, (c) a priest of Zeus Eleutherios and Rome and (d) a priest of the Gods. We may now consider what evidence there may be which will enable us to date, even approximately, the creation of these several cults.

(a) The priesthood and *agonothesia* of Augustus is clearly to be associated with Actium. Two coins of Thessalonica bear on the obverse the head of Augustus with the legend ΚΑΙΣΑΡ | ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟ | Σ.¹ The reverses have respectively the prow of a ship,² and a Nike standing on a prow with crown and palm branch.³ The reference to Actium is clear. Another coin of Thessalonica bears on the obverse the head of Julius Caesar with combination of diadem and laurel crown and the legend ΘΕΟΣ; the reverse has the head of Augustus and the legend of the city.⁴ The reverse of this coin also bears the letter Δ which Gaebler conjecturally interprets as a designation of value signifying four reduced asses. But it is equally possible that the delta is a date, and, if so, it can only be the fourth year of the Actian Era, which, as Tod has shown,⁵ in Macedonia began on the 1st of Dios, 32 B.C. This coin, then, would be dated 29/28 B.C. There would seem to be clearly some connection between the coin commemorating the cult of the deified Julius and the *Καίσαρος ναός* mentioned in line four of Duchesne's text, for, as Professor Nock has pointed out to me, this is surely a temple of Julius, not Augustus. Lines 3-4 of Duchesne's inscription, fragmentary though they be, refer to the completion of the construction of this temple. Since Octavian received the title

¹ H. Gaebler, *Die Antiken Münzen von Makedonia und Paionia*, zweite Abteilung, Berlin, 1935, nos. 44 and 45 on p. 125. ² *Loc. cit.* no. 44. ³ *Loc. cit.* no. 45.

⁴ Gaebler *op. cit.* no. 43 on p. 125. A festival in honour of Antonius and Octavian would naturally not be continued in that form after Actium. It is not impossible, however, that the priesthood and *agonothesia* of Augustus is in fact a modified continuation of the festival attested by this coin.

⁵ *BSA* XXIII (1918-1919) 206-217, XXIV (1919-1920, 1920-1921) 54-67.

Augustus on January 16th 27 B.C., it would be possible for this inscription to be dated as early as the year after the issuance of the coin. The complete absence of any Roman names suggests a date quite early in Augustus' reign.

It is probable that the priesthood and *agonothesia* were founded quite soon after the battle of Actium, very likely in connection with the creation of the Actian Era in Macedonia. The title Augustus would naturally be added to the cult formula in 27 B.C.

(b) With but one exception (see section *c* below) the first references to Rome on the coinage of Thessalonica are during the period of the Second Triumvirate in the years immediately after Philippi. A coin of the city from this time has on the obverse ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΕΩΝ· ΕΛΕΤΘΕΡΙΑΣ and on the reverse Μ·ΑΝΤ·ΑΥΤ|Γ·ΚΑΙ·ΑΥΤ.¹ The coin celebrates Thessalonica's new status as a *civitas libera*. Another coin has on the obverse ΑΓΩΝΟΘΕΣΙΑ and on the reverse ΑΝΤΙΚΑΙ.² A third issue has on the obverse ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ, on the reverse ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝ and ΡΩΜ.³ Thus in the months immediately after Philippi we have the granting of freedom to Thessalonica by Antonius, the founding of a festival by the city, and the celebration of the *concordia* existing between Thessalonica and Rome. Thessalonica is of course expressing gratitude for her new rank as a free city. It may be noted, however, that the city had another very real cause of gratitude to the victors of Philippi: before the last battle at Philippi, Brutus had promised his troops the sack of Thessalonica.⁴ All these considerations make 42-41 B.C. the logical time for the founding of the cult of Rome and the Benefactor Romans. The numismatic evidence is cogent, and there is no known reason for dating the creation of this cult at any other time.

(c) Were the epigraphic evidence for the cult of Zeus Eleutherios and Rome limited to the inscriptions of Abdera and Thessalonica, both

¹ Gaebler *op. cit.* p. 97; cf. Head *Historia Numorum*² 245. Curiously enough, Gaebler does not list this coin among the issues of Thessalonica.

² Gaebler *op. cit.* no. 23 on p. 121.

³ Gaebler *op. cit.* no. 24 on p. 121. By an extraordinarily acute numismatic observation Gaebler has shown that this coin was issued in 41/40 B.C. when L. Marcius Censorinus was Antonius' praetorian proconsul in Macedonia. See Gaebler *loc. cit.* for discussion.

⁴ Plutarch *Brutus* 46. 1.

of the imperial period, one could reasonably conclude, as do Avezou and Picard,¹ that the cult was one "de Rome et de l'empereur vivant." But the unpublished dedication from Petres² shows that this cult existed in Macedonia long before the founding of the empire. The cult formula employed in the three texts is identical, and it therefore would seem probable that the inception of this cult in Abdera, Thessalonica and Petres was motivated by the same historical circumstances. If this reasoning be valid, the date for the creation of the cult of Zeus Eleutherios and Rome must be sought well before the imperial period.

In this connection it may be noted that coins struck by Lucius Fulcinus and Gaius Publilius, successive quaestors of Metellus Macedonicus during his command in Macedonia (148-146 B.C.), have on the obverse the head of the goddess Roma and on the reverse the oak wreath.³ Since these coins bear the legend ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ, they were intended for general circulation in the province. Coins of the same period with identical obverse and reverse were also struck by Amphipolis,⁴ Thessalonica⁵ and Pella.⁶ These cities were respectively the capitals of the first three Macedonian *μερίδες*. It is obvious that this identity of coin types cannot be fortuitous. These coins seem clearly to indicate a cult of Roma created soon after Metellus' suppression of the revolt of Philip VI-Andriscus.

Even though the oak is the symbol of Zeus, the oak wreath on the reverse of these coins cannot be taken as sure evidence for including Zeus Eleutherios in this cult, for, as Professor Nock has pointed out to me, Zeus Eleutherios is a publicist concept and hence for definite evidence one would need a legend. Nevertheless, since the dedication from Petres demands an early date for the creation of the cult of Zeus Eleutherios and Rome, I submit that the defeat of Philip VI and the creation of the province of Macedonia is the most appropriate known

BCH XXXVII (1913) 138.

² *Supra*, p. 131.

³ H. Gaebler, *Die Antiken Münzen von Makedonia und Paionia*, erste Abteilung, Berlin, 1906, nos. 197-201 on p. 65, and nos. 203-206 on pp. 66-67.

⁴ Gaebler *op. cit.* zweite Abteilung no. 29 on p. 34. Obverse, head of Roma; reverse, oak wreath.

⁵ *Op. cit.* no. 7 on p. 119. Obverse, head of Roma; reverse, oak wreath.

⁶ *Op. cit.* nos. 6 and 7 on p. 95. Obverse, head of Roma; reverse, oak wreath.

context for the founding of this cult. The association of Zeus Eleutherios with Roma would express the Macedonians' gratitude to Rome for "liberating" them from the "tyranny" of the pretender.¹ For these reasons one may adopt 148 B.C. as the date for the creation of this cult in Thessalonica.

(d) There is no specific evidence for the date of the creation of the cult of the Gods, but the following considerations are perhaps relevant.

The cities of Macedonia under the monarchy are known to have dated their documents by eponymous priests.² An unpublished fragmentary third-century decree of Thessalonica now in the Saloniki Museum³ is dated by the regnal year and by an eponymous priest. The deity is unnamed. It seems to me probable that the priest of the unnamed deity in this decree is to be identified with the priest of the Gods appearing in the documents of the Roman period; there is at least no evidence to the contrary. If this should prove correct, it is likely that the priesthood of the Gods was created by Cassander at the time of the founding of Thessalonica. But further evidence must appear before any certain conclusion can be reached concerning the date of the creation of this priesthood.

4. To the four cults already considered a fifth may be added. Pelekides has recently published a series of eighteen inscribed altars of Thessalonica dating from 219 to 269 A.D. which honour priests and agonothetes of a certain θεὸς Φοῦλβος,⁴ who in the latest of these altars is θεὸς Αὐρήλιος Φοῦλβος.⁵ After considerable discussion the editor finds himself forced to identify this obscure divinity with

¹ The region in which Abdera is situated is stated to have been held by Philip VI: Strabo VII frg. 48 — εἶθ' "Ἐβρος ἀνάπλουν ἔχων εἰς Κύψελα ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι · τῆς Μακεδονίας φησὶ τοῦτο ὄριον ἦν ἀφείλοντο Περσέα Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν Ψευδοφίλιππον.

² Amphipolis: Demitsas *op. cit.* no. 848 on p. 699, a priest of Asclepius. Cassandrea: Ditt. *Syll.*³ no. 380, a priest of Lysimachus; Ditt. *Syll.*³ no. 332, deity unnamed. Pella: Tarn *Antigonos Gonatas* 184 n. 56, deity unnamed.

³ Mentioned by Robert in Maurice Holleaux, *Études d'épigraphie et d'histoire grecques*, I, Paris (1938), p. 268 note 2.

⁴ Σ. Πελεκίδης, Ἐκ τῆς Πολιτείας καὶ τῆς Κοινωνίας τῆς ἀρχαίας Θεσσαλονίκης, Παράρτημα τοῦ Δευτέρου Τόμου τῆς Ἐπιστημονικῆς Ἐπετηρίδος τῆς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς (Πανεπιστήμιον Θεσσαλονίκης) 1933, Θεσσαλονίκη, 1934, nos. 9-26, pp. 56-67.

⁵ *Op. cit.* no. 26, p. 67.

Antoninus Pius.¹ But it is inconceivable that the Emperor could be so described in cult, for Antoninus can hardly have been worshipped with a cult formula which included not one single name used in his official style when Emperor. Even though Antoninus is known to have been honoured in Thessalonica,² some other explanation must be sought. It is to be noted that in three instances the office of the priest and agonothete of the Divine Fulvus is combined with the ephebarchate.³ This suggests that Fulvus was young or in some way connected with youth. The obvious candidate is M. Aurelius Fulvus Antoninus, the son of Antoninus Pius and Annia Galeria Faustina, who died before Pius' accession to the throne and, in 139 A.D., was buried in the Mausoleum of Hadrian.⁴ Pelekides argues that Θεὸς Φούλβος cannot have been Aurelius Fulvus Antoninus since the latter never received formal *consecratio* at Rome.⁵ But official consecration at Rome was never a necessary prerequisite for local cult. The appropriate time for the creation of the cult of the Divine Fulvus at Thessalonica would be soon after the accession of Antoninus Pius, probably at the time of the burial of Fulvus in the Mausoleum.

A chronological list of the five priesthoods considered in this study is appended:

316 B.C. (?)	Priest of the Gods.
148 B.C.	Priest of Zeus Eleutherios and Rome.
42-41 B.C.	Priest of Rome and the Benefactor Romans.
27 B.C.	Priest and Agonothete of Augustus.
138-139 A.D.	Priest and Agonothete of the Divine (Aurelius) Fulvus.

¹ *Op. cit.* pp. 69-72.

² Heuzy and Daumet, *Mission archéologique dans la Macédoine*, Paris (1876), no. 112, pp. 273-274 (141 A.D.), recording games on behalf of the Emperor, the Imperial House, the Senate and the Roman people. *CIG* 1968 = J. H. Mordtmann, *Ath. Mitt.* XVI (1891) 368 is an inscribed epistyle with a dedication by the city to the Emperor, his children, his wife Faustina and to Lucius Commodus. The missing left portion has been found and is now inv. no. 1789 in the Saloniki Museum.

³ Pelekides *op. cit.* nos. 19 (pp. 62-63), 24 (p. 66) and 26 (p. 67) in A.D. 248, 262 and 269 respectively.

⁴ *RE* II col. 2492 (no. 137).

⁵ *Op. cit.* pp. 70-71.

SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS, ROMAN BUREAUCRAT

BY MASON HAMMOND

SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS is usually portrayed as a person of African, not to say Punic blood, brought up in a provincial environment, and rising to the throne through a military career.¹ According to the accepted presentation, his Punic origin made him ignorant of and unsympathetic towards Roman traditions. In consequence, he reduced the status of Italy to that of the provinces and replaced senators with knights in the administration of the empire. And he based his power frankly upon the army, on which he showered money and privileges. In short, he substituted for the civil and elective principate of Augustus, wherein the senate was the titular head of and actual sharer in the empire, a military and dynastic monarchy, which concentrated all power in the hands of the ruler. The main lines of Septimius' policy are indisputably those laid down in this traditional interpretation. Nor can it be denied that he came from Africa and secured the throne by the use of military force. But it does not follow that he was either un-Roman or simply a soldier, or that his alterations in the structure of the state were motivated by no more cogent reasons than his character and training. The present discussion will confine itself to a consideration of the origin and career of Septimius before he

¹ Gibbon pays tribute to Septimius' abilities as a ruler but describes him as treacherous and ruthless and says of his career: "But the youth of Severus had been trained in the implicit obedience of the camps, and his riper years spent in the despotism of military commands." He concludes that Septimius was "the principal author of the decline of the Roman Empire." Cf. Bury's edition of 1896, vol. I 111-125, and especially, for the sentences quoted, 124, 125. This, the traditional interpretation, is to a considerable degree that of Miller in *CAH* XII 23-26 and of G. M. Columba in his article "Settimio Severo e gli Imperatori Africani" in *Africa Romana* 107-122, cf. especially 118, 122. Bury himself, however, I 455 appendix 11, holds that Septimius was "more than a mere soldier emperor; he was a considerable statesman" and regrets that no able successor carried out his program. Also A. A. Trever, *History of Ancient Civilization* II, *The Roman World* (New York, 1939) 629, recognizes that Septimius was an equestrian and educated and an efficient civil servant under Marcus. In this and the following notes, titles referred to frequently are abbreviated and will be found in full in a final bibliographical note.

became emperor. If it can be shown that the usual picture of his career is inaccurate, the problem will be put of finding adequate motives for his imperial policies. The investigation of this problem would, however, demand a book, not an article. For the present, therefore, only a few suggestions will be hazarded at the end of this discussion.¹

Emperors before Septimius had been provincials and at least one modern historian has sought to interpret their careers in the light of their racial backgrounds.² But few would agree that Trajan, Hadrian, or Antoninus were essentially un-Roman, even if their Romanism was more liberal than that of a Cato, or that the peculiarities of a Hadrian or the weakness of a Commodus were due to anything other than individual characteristics.³ It does not follow that because a man was not a Roman or Italian born he was any the less imbued with Rome's traditions.⁴ Nevertheless, it may be argued that these emperors were brought up in closer contact with Rome than was Septimius.⁵ Hence, though the facts concerning his family and youth are familiar, they

¹ M. Guey, a French scholar, is reported to have in hand a book on Septimius which, presumably, must await the end of the war for its completion. Professor Scramuzza, of Smith College, kindly read this article in ms. and made helpful suggestions. Dr. Haywood, of Johns Hopkins University, called attention to the article by E. Gellens-Wilford in the *Bulletin* of the Société de Géog. et d'Arch. de la province d'Oran for 1882. Gellens-Wilford discusses very fully the family and career of Septimius but does not draw the general conclusion here presented.

² W. Weber in chapters VIII and IX of *CAH XI* and in his *Rom: Herrschertum und Reich im zweiten Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart/Berlin, 1937).

³ See reviews of Weber's theory by Westermann in *AJP* LVIII (1937) 481, by Hammond in *Classical Philology* XXXIV (1939) 172-173.

⁴ Rome's literature from the beginning was largely the creation of non-Romans and later of non-Italians. But Ennius, Livy, Virgil, Claudian, and Rutilius Naman-tianus entered fully into her spirit.

⁵ Trajan was born in Italica (Seville) in Spain and his father was the first of the family to become a consul. R. Paribeni, *Optimus Princeps* (Messina, 1926) I 45-49, saw in Trajan Spanish traits. Hadrian was also born in Italica, despite *SHA Hadr.* 1, 3 on which see G. Tropea, *Studi sugli SHA VI* (Padova, 1903); *RE I*(1), 496. His father, a *praetorius*, died when Hadrian was ten and the youth passed most of his life thereafter in Rome under the guardianship of Trajan and Attianus. The family of Antoninus came from Nemausus (Nîmes) in Gaul but he himself was born in Italy and his grandfather attained the consulship twice and his father once, *SHA Ant.* 1 3; cf. *RE II*(4) 2492 under Fulvius 135, 136; 2494-2495 under Fulvius 138.

deserve review to see how far they justify the charge that he had little sympathy for things Roman.

Septimius was born on April 11, 146.¹ His birthplace was Leptis Magna, a city in what was under the early empire the eastern part of the province of *Africa proconsularis* but became after Diocletian the separate province of *Tripolitana*.² Leptis had perhaps originally been founded as a direct Phoenician colony.³ It early fell under Carthaginian rule and like the rest of the old Carthaginian empire, preserved a strong Punic tinge in language and religion under Roman rule.⁴ Culturally, moreover, the whole area looked to Greece rather than to its nearer neighbor, Italy.⁵ Nevertheless, since the days of the

Marcus, and hence Commodus, was of Spanish stock. His great-grandfather came to Rome from Uccubis and reached the praetorship, his grandfather was consul, and his father died as praetor, SHA *Marc.* 1, 2-4; *RE* I(2) 2278-2282 under Annius 90, 91, 94.

¹ The *Life*, 1, 3, reads *ipse natus est Erucio Claro bis et Severo cons. vi idus Apriles* but the *vi* is generally corrected to *iii* on the basis of Dio LXXVI (LXXVII) 17, 4: τῇ γὰρ ἐνδεκάτῃ τοῦ Ἀπριλίου ἐγενένητο, with which the *Fasti* of Philocalus agree: *divi Severi iii idus Apr.*, *CIL*² I 1 pp. 255, 262, 301; cf. Polemius Silvius, *ibid.* 263, and, in general, Gellens-Wilford 362; Hasebroek *Sept.* 3 n. 1; *RE* 2 II(4) 1943; A. Klotz, rev. of Hohl's ed. in *Berl. Philol. Wochenschrift* XLVIII (1928, no. 15, Apr. 14) 460.

² For the spelling *Lepcis* as attested in the inscriptions, see the references cited by P. W. Townsend, *AJA* XLII(1938) 512 n. 1; the literary sources give *Leptis*, which has become so regular that it seems pedantic to change, *CIL* VIII 1 p. 2. On the city, see *RE* XII(24) 2074-2076; P. Romanelli, *Leptis Magna* (Roma, 1925); R. Bartoccini, *Guida di Lepcis* (Roma, 1927); V. Chapot, *Le Monde Romain* (Paris, 1927) 444-447; *Africa Romana* 115-116, 237-253. It should be distinguished from the near-by Leptis Minor.

³ G. de Sanctis, *Storia dei Romani* III 1 (Torino, 1916), 16 n. 46; Gsell, *Afrique du Nord* I 362; *RE* XII(24) 2075.

⁴ Monceaux, *Les Africains* 21-39, 99-104, 118-121; Gsell, *Afrique du Nord* IV 485-486, VII 107-122; Broughton, *Romanization* throughout, especially 132 for Leptis; Albertini, *L'Afrique Romaine* 49-55; Amatucci *ibid.* 192-195. H. V. Canter, "Roman Civilization in North Africa," *Classical Journal* XXXV (1940) 197-208 is very general but provides a good bibliography in 197 n. 1. See the discussion of Septimius' Punic accent, below p. 147. *CIL* VIII 1, 15 and 16 are trilingual inscriptions, in Latin, Greek, and Punic. Amatucci, 192 n. 7, lists a number of Berber inscriptions in *CIL* VIII.

⁵ To the works cited in the last note, add Schanz-Hosius-Krüger III 231; Broughton, *Romanization* 156 n. 264, referring to W. Thieling, *Der Hellenismus in Klein-*

Gracchi, Romans had settled far and wide throughout the area and it would probably have been hard to determine, in the second century after Christ, who in the more settled areas were of Berber, Punic, or Roman stock.¹ Leptis itself received colonial status, with, presumably, a general grant of Roman citizenship, from Trajan.² But the ancestors of Septimius' father had been not merely citizens but equestrians even before Trajan's grant, according to Hasebroek's plausible interpretation of a phrase in the *Life* of Septimius in the *Augustan History*: *maiores equites Romani ante ciuitatem omnibus datam*.³ This favored status would suggest that the family, if not of Italian origin, stemmed from some imperial official who had served and settled in Leptis.⁴ The tribe in which the Leptines were enrolled by Trajan is supposed to have been the *Papiria*, but it seems almost certain that the Septimii belonged to a tribe different from that of their fellow-citizens, namely the *Quirina*.⁵ If the family was in origin Italian, this would be natural;

africa (Leipzig, 1910); *CAH* VIII 489. See on the Greek of Septimius and Apuleius, below p. 148. St. Augustine began Greek but disliked it, *Conf.* I 13, 1. Latin was his native tongue, *Conf.* I 14, 1; Amatucci, *Africa Romana* 194.

¹ In general, Broughton, *Romanization* throughout; Gsell, *Afrique du Nord* VII 58-73, 122, VIII 167-182. Ceuleneer, *Sept.* 12, cites the important figures in Roman life and letters who came from North Africa; cf. Albertini, *L'Afrique Romaine* 53-54. Leptis produced in the first century the distinguished teacher of Stoicism Annaeus Cornutus, Schanz-Hosius 677.

² The grant of colonial status by Trajan is attested by the name *coloniae Ulpia[e] Traiana[e]* in *CIL* VIII 1, 10 line 3; cf. *coloniam* in no. 11 line 6. The editor, Wilmanns, on p. 3, suggests that the *ciuitas* may have been bestowed earlier, since no. 8, a very fragmentary inscription, shows the word *munic[ipium]*.

³ *SHA Sept.* 1, 2; Hasebroek, *Sept.* 2; A. vonDomaszewski, *Rel. des röm. Heeres* (Trier, 1895 = *Westdeutsch. Zschr. für Gesch. und Kunst* XIV [1895]) 72 n. 308. The author of the *Life* may have had in mind the grant by Caracalla. He would hardly have invented so glaring an anachronism unless something in his source suggested it and the source, presumably, had the rational meaning which vonDomaszewski proposed.

⁴ Broughton, *Romanization* 225-228, minimizes the actual migration of Romans to North Africa. But this must have occurred under the later republic and early empire, before the natives became romanized. Veterans from the legions, traders, and officials, as well as actual colonists, would have become permanent residents; cf. Gsell, *Afrique du Nord* as cited above n. 1; Columba, *Africa Romana* 108-110. Columba prefers to regard the Septimii as of Italian extraction, though he admits Libyan traits in Septimius himself, 110-111, 121.

⁵ W. Kubitschek, *Imperium Romanum tributim discriptum* (Vienna, 1889) 150

if not, it is significant that the tribe *Quirina* appears commonly in communities advanced in status by Vespasian.¹ A minimum of some seventy years of citizenship may safely be claimed for the paternal side of Septimius' family before his birth in 146 and its equestrian status probably indicates some connection with the imperial service.²

Appositely for this argument, the poet Statius, writing in the last years of Domitian, addressed one of his poems to a certain Septimius Severus.³ He gives a number of details about his friend. This Septimius had come from Leptis as a boy and embarked successfully on the practice of law.⁴ Despite his success, he remained content with equestrian rank.⁵ Statius pays him a significant compliment: *non*

n. 218, rejected the suggestion made by Mommsen, *Eph. Epigr.* III (1877) 230-235 = *GS VIII (ES I)* 321-327, that the Leptines were enrolled in the tribe *Papiria*, that of Trajan, cf. esp. 235 = 327, but admits that the Septimii were probably in the *Quirina*. A grant of citizenship by Trajan would be expected to have bestowed his tribe, which is also uncertain but is likely to have been that attested for Hadrian, *CIL* III 1, 550 = *CIA (IG)* III 1, 464, the *Sergia*, cf. Kubitschek 177 under *Italica*. Hasebroek, *Sept.* 2, accepted the *Papiria* for Leptis and the *Quirina* for Septimius. Fulvius Plautianus, possibly a relative of Septimius on his mother's side, below p. 146, belonged to the *Quirina*, *CIL* XI 1, 1337. For a wrongly restored inscription giving the tribe [*Q*]uirin. below p. 159 n. 4.

¹ Broughton, *Romanization* 95 n. 42, 102, cf. also 59 n. 82; Mommsen *Eph. Epigr.* III 2 (1877) 233-234 = *GS VIII (ES I)* 324-326.

² Stein, *Röm. Ritt.* 74-82, has argued against Kübler, *RE* VI(11) 295, that the equestrian status was not hereditary but bestowed only by imperial favor. If so, the Septimii must have maintained their connections with the imperial house and therefore the imperial service, unless the statement in the *Life* means only that they had once had an equestrian ancestor. Nothing is known of the status of Septimius' father, but the fact that not only Septimius but also his brother Geta enjoyed a senatorial career (Geta had become legate of Dacia by 193, *PIR* III 208 *S* 326; below p. 163 n. 6; and Columba, *Africa Romana* 111) suggests that not only the favor of relatives in Rome, below p. 144, but the merit of their family had recommended them.

³ *Silvae* IV 5. Schanz-Hosius, II 542, date the publication of book IV in the summer of 95. On Septimius, *PIR* III 212-213 *S* 345.

⁴ Lines 29-30: *tene in remotis Syrtibus auiā / Leptis creauit?* The passage describing his law practice, 49-52, contains the line: *uenale sed non eloquium tibi*, which reflects the Roman prejudice against fees for advocates. This was still strong, Hammond, "Pliny the Younger's View on Government," *HSCP* XLIX (1938) 131, but to observe it, a lawyer probably had to be already comfortably off.

⁵ Line 42: *contentus artae lumine purpurae*.

*sermo Poenus, non habitus tibi, / externa non mens: Italus, Italus.*¹ The *sermo Poenus* and *externa mens* suggest that Septimius may have been of non-Roman stock, though a Roman family resident abroad might easily have been absorbed into its environment sufficiently to have acquired the generally spoken language and a provincial point of view.² Some lines further on Statius describes his friend as *nunc in paternis sedibus et solo / Veiente*.³ In general, therefore, he presents a picture of a young man of a Punic or provincial Roman family who had been brought by a well-to-do father from Leptis and who, an equestrian either through inheritance or through his own merit, had made a success of the law and had inherited from his father a farm at Veii. His career, even to the estate at Veii, was almost exactly that of the later Septimius. A lead pipe found in the ruins of a villa near the Via Cassia, seventeen miles from Rome and about five miles from Veii, bears the inscription: *P. Septimi Geta* (thus).⁴ DeRossi argued ingeniously that the villa was the scene of the trial of St. Alexander, bishop of Baccano, before an emperor "Antoninus," whom he identified with Caracalla.⁵ Since the *Acta* of Alexander call part of the scene of his trial the *praetorium Fusci*, DeRossi thought that the estate had originally belonged to Annius Fuscus, father of Septimius' rival Pescennius Niger, and that on the revolt of the latter it had been confiscated by Septimius.⁶ The Geta of the lead pipe would, then, be

¹ Lines 45-46.

² The writer had occasion to meet two Englishmen whose families had long been resident in Smyrna. One, educated in England, spoke English with little accent; the other, educated locally, spoke with considerable accent. Both, naturally, were fluent in Turkish and showed what might be called a *mens Turca* in their dealings. Many Anglo-Indian families must develop native traits; and the English would certainly accuse their American cousins of having *externas mentes* as well as alien accents and clothes.

³ Lines 54-55.

⁴ *CIL* XI 1, 3816. For its discovery at Bosco Baccano, Armellini, *Chronichetta Mensuale* Ser. II, I (1875) 91-92.

⁵ *Bulletino di Archeologia Cristiana* Ser. II, VI (1875) 149-150; cf. the *Acta Sanctorum* of the Bollandists for September, vol. VI 227-236. DeRossi identified the church and cemetery of St. Alexander a few miles further along the Via Cassia.

⁶ *Acta Boll.* Sept. VI 230 F last line, 235 A line 11, B line 21; SHA *Pesc.* 1, 3: *patre Annio Fusco*. *Fuscus* is used as a nickname (= *Niger*) for Pescennius in an oracle quoted in SHA *Pesc.* 8, 1, below p. 147 n. 1.

either the brother of the emperor or, less probably, the second son.¹ In either case, the villa would eventually have passed into Caracalla's hands.² According to this reasoning, the villa in question was not that of Statius' friend. The grant of Fuscus' estate to a member of the family rather than its operation as an imperial establishment might, however, indicate a personal interest in the Veientine area. Hypothetically, it may be suggested that the estate of Fuscus, if the *Acta* are accurate and DeRossi's conclusion sound, was added to property previously held by the Septimii. Such a hypothesis suggests in turn a reasonable emendation for a corrupt passage in the *Life* of Septimius. This states that Septimius, just before leaving for his Pannonian command, *hortos spatiosos comparavit, cum antea aedes breuissimas Romae habuisset et unum fundum*.³ Whereafter the manuscripts have variant readings; P reads: *Inuenit &iam*, and S: *etiam unum fundum inuenit*. Editors have proposed various emendations but Hohl now accepts Salmasius' *in Venetia*.⁴ There is, of course, no proof that Septimius did not have a farm near Venice, but he otherwise had no

¹ Dessau, *PIR* III 208 S no. 327, suggested that the Geta of the pipe might have been a cousin of the emperor, descended from Statius' friend; Stein *RE* II(4) 1571 under Septimius 33, prefers the emperor's brother. The son is less likely as he would probably appear as either *Caesar* or *Augustus*. Nor is the emperor's father likely, as he appears to have remained in Africa, below p. 145. No one has identified the owner of the pipe with Statius' friend, presumably because the last name of the latter was Severus, because the remains of the villa were of a later date, and perhaps also because the lettering on the pipe was in a style of the second century, though this is not stated.

² Geta the younger's property would have been confiscated after his murder, cf. *RE* II(4) 1570 under Septimius 32; there is no evidence that Geta the elder had children, *PIR* III 208 S 326 (there is apparently no article on this Geta in *RE*), unless the Severus, an ἀνεψίος = (first?) cousin put to death by Caracalla soon after Geta the younger, Herodian IV 6, 3; *RE* II(4) 1573 under Septimius 53, was a son of the elder Geta. This Severus may be the Afer (Aper?), *frater patruelis*, of whom SHA *Car.* 3, 6-7 tells the same story; *RE* II(4) 1563 under Septimius 14; cf. the great-uncle Aper discussed below. Gellens-Wilford, 363, distinguishes three great-uncles, Septimius Severus, Septimius Macer, and P. Septimius Aper; cf. Columba, *Africa Romana* 111 and below p. 144 nn. 3, 6. But Septimius Macer was the grandfather, below p. 145 n. 2.

³ SHA *Sept.* 4, 5, where the sentence begins wrongly *profiscens ad German(ic)os exercitus*, cf. below p. 162.

⁴ SHA ed. Hohl I 139 n. on lines 4/5. Hohl originally proposed *inuenustum*.

connections with that region and it seems unlikely that an African provincial would have bought a place so far north of Rome. If, therefore, the passage has any factual basis, the original reading may well have been something like *fundum Veientanum* or *fundum Veientem*.¹ Though such hypotheses carry no certainty, they lend probability to the view that Statius' friend was connected with the emperor's family and that the family had since the time of Domitian been familiar with Rome and even with Veii.²

Two of the uncles of the emperor's father attained the consulship at Rome: *patruī magn(i) Aper et Seuerus consulares*.³ Aper may be the P. Septimius Aper who was suffect consul with M. Sedatius Severianus about the middle of the second century.⁴ And Severus may have been the consul whose first two names are lost in the *Acta* of the Arval Brethren for December eleventh, 155: *Seuero, L. Iulio Seuero cos. iiii idus Decembr.*⁵ This Severus was probably the relative who secured for the later emperor the grant of senatorial status from Marcus Aurelius: *latum clauum a diuo Marco petit et accepit, fauente sibi Septimio Seuero adfini suo bis iam consulari*.⁶ The names of the emperor's grandfather, L. Septimius, and his father, P. Septimius Geta, are attested by an inscription from Cirta: *P. Septimio L. f. /*

¹ Forcellini, *Onomasticon* (Patavii, 1920) 753 col. 3–754 col. 1, gives ample evidence, especially in silver and later Latin for *Veientanus*, cf. Suet. *Galba* 1: *Veientanum suum* referring to an estate of Livia, wife of Augustus. *Veientinus* is not attested save in dubious inscriptions. The simple adjective seems better than some such phrase as *in Veii terra* or *in Veiente terra* since *terra* is not so specifically used in the SHA, cf. C. Lessing, *SHA Lexicon* (Leipzig, 1901–1906) 665 col. 2, and *agro* would not have occasioned the corruption. This may have begun with a change of *Veientanum* to something like *Venitanum*. A marginal correction of *ien*, inserted in the text as *in*, would lead to *inuenitetiam* or the like.

² Statius' friend was probably not a direct ancestor of the Leptine branch as Bidez suggests, *CAH* XII 612.

³ SHA *Sept.* 1, 2. Gellens-Wilford, 363, makes them three, cf. above p. 143 n. 2.

⁴ *CIL* II 2008 = Dess. 5423 lines 6–7: *k. Iulis P. Septumio* (thus) *Apro / [M.] Sedatio Seueriano cos.* Cf. Gellens-Wilford 363; *PIR* III 203 S 318, 319; 189 S 231; *RE* II(4) 1564 under Septimius 21.

⁵ W. Henzen, *Acta Fratrum Arualium* (Berlin, 1874), clxxi lines 62–63.

⁶ SHA *Sept.* 1, 5. Dessau, *PIR* 212 S 342, 343, lists them separately but suggests that they may be the same; cf. *RE* II(4) 1573–1574 under Septimius 54; Hasebroek, *Sept.* 4. Columba, *Africa Romana* 111, prefers to distinguish them, cf. above p. 143 n. 2.

Getae patri Imp. / Seueri Aug. etc.¹ This inscription shows that in the *Life*: *auus maternus Macer, paternus Fuluius Pius*, the adjectives have been inverted and that, therefore, the paternal grandfather may well have been called L. Septimius Macer.² Perhaps neither the father nor the grandfather ever left their native Leptis, where the former died while his son was quaestor in Baetica about 173.³ Nevertheless, a family which had two consulars at Rome could hardly have been unaffected by Roman traditions and ideals.

Septimius' mother, Fulvia Pia, was, according to the correction proposed above in the *Life*, the daughter of a Fulvius Pius but not much is known of her family.⁴ A Fulvius Pius was consul in 238 but, if he was a member of the family, he may well have attained the distinction through his relationship to the emperor.⁵ Herodian describes Fulvius Plautianus, who became Septimius' praetorian praefect and whose daughter married Caracalla, as ὄντα δὲ πολίτην ἐαυτοῦ (Septimius), Λίβυς γὰρ κακέϊνος ἦν, ὡς μὲν τινες ἔλεγον, πρὸς γένος αὐτῷ ὑπάρχοντα κτλ.⁶ The fact that Plautianus belonged to the tribe

¹ *CIL* VIII suppl. 2, 19493 lines 1-3; *SHA Sept.* 1, 2: *pater Geta*; cf. *RE* 2 II(4) 1944 Severus 12; *PIR* III 208 S 328. The praenomen of the emperor's second son, who was presumably named for his grandfather, varies between Publius and Lucius, *PIR* 206 S 325, though Fluss, *RE* 2 II(4) 1565 Septimius 32, gives only Publius, which is probably the more correct. The editors of *CIL* VIII suppl. 2, 19493 point out that the *M. fil.* on the Arch of Septimius in the Forum, *CIL* VI 1, 1033 = Dess. 425 line 1, refers to Septimius' fictive self-adoption into the Antonine family. Marcus regularly appears among his imperial ancestors, as in *CIL* VI 1, 1259 = Dess. 424.

² *SHA Sept.* 1, 2; *PIR* III 209 S 333. The error is corrected in group Σ of the mss., *SHA* ed. Hohl I p. 136 n. on line 7, and is indicated, though not proved, by the name of Septimius' mother, Fulvia Pia, below n. 4. Cf. the review of Hohl's edition by A. Klotz in *Berl. Philol. Wochenschrift* XLVIII (1928, no. 15, Apr. 14) 460.

³ *SHA Sept.* 2, 3. Victor, *lib. de Caes.* 20, 28, says that Septimius was *ortus medie humili* and remarks a little later *uti rebus artis solet*. These expressions should not be pressed to show that Septimius' father was poor, in view of his successful uncles and his ability to send his son to Rome, though naturally he may have been in moderate circumstances. The phrases may refer more to the Fulvii Pii, below p. 146 n. 2.

⁴ *SHA Sept.* 1, 2; above n. 2.

⁵ *PIR* II 96 F 377.

⁶ Herodian III 10, 6.

Quirina suggests that the family may have possessed citizenship since the time of Vespasian.¹ It may, however, have been less distinguished than the Septimii and more native, whether Punic or Libyan.²

The description of Plautianus as *Λίβυς* raises the question of Septimius' own race. Herodian uses the same adjective of him: *Σεβήρος, ἀνὴρ τὸ μὲν γένος Λίβυς*.³ With this may be compared the description in Themistius of Hadrian's general, Lusius Quietus: *οὐδὲ Λίβυν ἐκ τῆς ὑπηκόου Λιβύης, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀδόξου καὶ ἀπωκισμένης ἐσχατιᾶς*.⁴ Similarly Fronto, who came from Cirta in Numidia, says of himself: *ἐγὼ δὲ Λίβυς τῶν Λιβύων τῶν νομάδων*.⁵ Fronto may have been romancing about himself, but the description of Quietus shows that *Λίβυς* was used to denote race rather than place and that the Libyans were of two sorts, the settled and the nomad. Presumably, therefore, Herodian also used *Λίβυς* to denote race and for him, at least, Septimius would have been a non-Roman, even though not a nomad.⁶ Dio relates nothing about Septimius' origin and the *Life* only: *Seuerus Africa oriundus . . . cui ciuitas Lepti*.⁷ This tradition is followed by Victor, by the *Epitome*, by Eutropius, and from him by Jerome.⁸

¹ *CIL* XI 1, 1337, above p. 140 n. 5.

² Herodian, III 10, 6, says that Septimius advanced Plautianus to great power *ἐκ μικρᾶς καὶ εὐτελοῦς τύχης*, but this should not be pressed, cf. above p. 145 n. 3.

³ Herodian II 9, 2.

⁴ Them. *Or.* XVI 205A, delivered on Jan. 1, 383, *RE* 2 V(10) 1661 under Themistius 2. Dio, LXVIII 32, 4 (ed. Boissevain III p. 206 = Loeb ed. by Cary VIII p. 394), says that he was a desert sheik; *Μαῦρος μὲν ἦν, καὶ αὐτὸς τῶν Μαύρων ἀρχὼν (ῶν)*. Cf. H. T. Rowell, "The Honesta Missio from the Numeri of the Roman Imperial Army," *Yale Classical Studies* VI (1939) 76 n. 10.

⁵ *Ep. Gr.* 1, 5 = ed. Naber p. 242 = Loeb ed. by Haines I pp. 136-137. Fronto is apologizing for any errors of Greek which he may commit and comparing himself to Anacharsis the Scythian. For Cirta, *ad Amicos* I 3 = Naber p. 175 = Loeb I pp. 280-281; II 11 = N. p. 201 = L. I pp. 294-295. Cf. Schanz-Hosius-Krüger III 89.

⁶ On the meaning of *Λίβυες* = indigenous non-Punic inhabitants of Africa and its distinction from *Νομάδες*, cf. Gsell *Afrique du Nord* II 99-100, V 103-109; on its equivalence to the Latin *Afer*, VII 2-8.

⁷ For Dio, cf. the index to the Loeb ed. IX pp. 561-562 under L. Septimius. SHA *Sept.* 1, 1-2.

⁸ Victor *lib. de Caes.* 20, 19: *Tripoli cuius Lepti oppido oriebatur*; *Ep. de Caes.* 20, 9: *quippe genitus apud Leptim prouinciae Africae*; Eutropius *Breu.* VIII 18, 1: *oriundus ex Africa, prouincia Tripolitana, oppidi Lepti*; Jerome *Chron.* Ol. 243,

Rufus Festus, however, says *natione Afer*, which Orosius follows.¹ *Natione Afer* is a regular phrase in diplomas and other inscriptions for soldiers of native birth who served in the non-citizen troops.² On the one hand, therefore, the silence of one set of sources does not prove that Septimius was not an *Afer*; on the other, Herodian and those who follow him may have assumed that he was *Afer* because he came from Leptis. Even if Herodian's statement is true, the Libyan blood may still have been only on the mother's side. Moreover, it remains an open question whether inheritance is more important than environment and education.

At first sight, the various indications about Septimius' upbringing and education seem to confirm for him a non-Roman background. The *Life* says of him: *canorus uoce, sed Afrum quiddam usque ad senectutem sonans*.³ This criticism is not significant. Even in Italy there were local dialects, like Livy's *Pataunitas*, which grated by their accent, pronunciation, or even rustic vocabulary on the ears of purists.⁴ Jerome says of a *grammaticum Afrum* that he had *stridorem linguae et uitia oris*.⁵ The late grammarians mention various words as

1 (ed. Migne XXVII, *Opera S. Hier.* VIII 635 = ed. Helm 210): *Seuerus prouincia Tripolitana, oppido Lepti*. The statement of Philostratus, *Vit. Soph.* II 20, 2: ἐς Λιβύην ἦλθα Λεπτίνης (ἣν ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐκεῖ), is not evidence since the *Λεπτίνης* is bracketed by editors, cf. ed. Teubner (Leipzig, 1871) II p. 103, line 27.

¹ Ruf. Fes. *Breu.* 21, 3; Orosius *adu. Pag.* VII 17, 1: *Seuerus, genere Afer, Tripolitanus ab oppido Lepti*. An oracle quoted in SHA *Pesc.* 8, 1: *optimus est Fuscus* (Niger cf. above p. 142 n. 6), *bonus Afer* (Septimius), *pessimus Albus* (Albinus), gives slight confirmation, since, for the sake of the point, birth in Africa might justify the adjective *Afer*.

² *Thes. Ling. Lat.* I 1252 lines 32-46; 1253 lines 65-70 under *Afri*. Cf. Rowell, *op. cit.* above p. 146 n. 4 throughout (pp. 73-108 of VCS VI); Nesselhauf, *CIL XVI* pp. 193-196, citing Mommsen, *Hermes* XIX (1884) 23-39 = GS VI (*HS III*) 41-55; W. Kubitschek, *Jahreshefte des Öst. Arch. Inst. in Wien* XVII (1914) 157-160.

³ SHA *Sept.* 19, 9.

⁴ Quintillian I 5, 56, VIII 1, 3; Schanz-Hosius II 298; J. Whatmough, "Quemadmodum Pollio etc.," *HSCP* XLIV (1933) 95-130. R. Syme, *The Roman Revolution* (Oxford, 1939) 485-486, refers *Pataunitas* to Livy's "moral and romantic view of history" and rejects the purely dialectical or stylistic interpretations. His theory seems forced. On Hadrian's accent, below p. 149 n. 1. For Africa, cf. A. G. Amatucci, *Storia della Letteratura Latina Cristiana* (Bari, 1929) 72-79.

⁵ *Adu. Ruf.* III 27 (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* XXIII = *Opera S. Hier.* II-III 477C).

peculiar to African Latinity.¹ And modern critics attribute to the African school that exuberance of style which characterizes Latinity of the second century and which apparently reflects Hellenistic rather than Punic influences.² However, the *Life* says of Septimius' sister: *cum soror sua Leptina ad eum uenisset uix Latine loquens ac de illa multum imperator erubesceret, dato filio eius lato clauo atque ipsi multis muneribus, redire mulierem in patriam praecepit.*³ But Punic was, as has been said, one of the ordinary languages of North Africa and it might well be that a girl who had lived quietly in Leptis, in a household whose servants were natives, would have spoken Punic with more fluency than Latin even though of Roman stock herself.⁴

The sources pay tribute to the excellence of Septimius' education and emphasize especially his training in Greek, which has already been noted as a feature of the culture of Roman North Africa.⁵ The *Life* reads thus: *in prima pueritia, priusquam Latinis Graecisque litteris imbueretur, quibus eruditissimus fuit, nullum alium inter pueros ludum nisi ad indices exercuit, cum ipse praelatis fascibus ac securibus ordine puerorum circumstante* >s< *sederet ac iudicaret. octauo decimo anno publice declamauit. postea studiorum causa Romam uenit.*⁶ The *Epitome* states:

¹ *Thes. Ling. Lat.* I 1254 under *Afri*; Monceaux, *Les Africains* 105-114.

² Above p. 139 n. 5. The term *Africitas* is modern, cf. Amatucci, *Africa Romana* 195-196. Rand doubts the validity of the concept, *CAH* XII 579, 589 (in connection with Septimius), 592 (Tertullian).

³ *SHA Sept.* 15, 7.

⁴ Above p. 142; Columba, *Africa Romana* 111; Augustinus in *ep. Ioan.* 2, 3 (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* XXXV = *Opera S. Aug.* III 2, 1991 lines 42-43): *duas linguas, Latinam et Punicam, id est Afram.* Cf. below p. 150 on Apuleius' step-son. The writer has observed that children speak the language of the group among which they live in preference to that of their parents when the two are different. Albertini, however, *L'Afrique Romaine* 54-55, regards the Berber as highly adaptable to foreign culture and thinks that most Roman authors from Africa were romanized natives.

⁵ Above p. 139. Columba, *Africa Romana* 118-119, overemphasizes the triumph of Greek culture under Septimius.

⁶ *SHA Sept.* 1, 4-5, continuing *latum clauum, etc.* as quoted above p. 144. The boys' court has all the trappings of that of a Roman governor but this is hardly an argument that Septimius early imbued Roman traditions with his games; native children might easily ape their rulers. Hasebroek, *Sept.* 3, regards *priusquam . . . fuit* as an interpolation from Eutropius *Breu.* VIII 19, 1 or Victor *lib. de Caes.* 20, 22, both quoted in p. 149 n. 3 below; a more likely source would be the passage quoted from the *Epitome* but the order of borrowing is hard to determine among

*Latinis litteris sufficienter instructus, Graecis sermonibus eruditus, Punica eloquentia promptior.*¹ The *Life* also pays tribute to his eagerness to learn: *philosophiae ac dicendi studiis satis deditus, doctrin(a)e quoque nimis cupidus.*² This is echoed by Eutropius and by Victor.³ Dio says that his performance never attained his desire: παιδείας μὲν γὰρ ἐπεθύμει μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπετύγχανε καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πολυγνώμων μᾶλλον ἢ πολύλογος ἦν.⁴ He describes how the emperor's daily routine contained a period in the afternoon devoted to letters: λόγοις καὶ Ἑλληνικοῖς καὶ Λατίνοις συνεγίνετο ἐν περιπάτῳ.⁵ This interest in study

these late works which may draw on common sources; cf., for instance, Klebs, *Rhein. Mus.* XLV (1890) 436-448, on the parallels between Victor and the *Life* of Septimius.

¹ *Ep. de Caes.* 20, 8. Hadrian was also, as might be expected, proficient in Greek: *Epitome* 14, 2 = SHA *Hadr.* 1, 5. The *Life* of Hadrian, 3, 1, says of him: *in qua* (his quaestorship) *cum orationem imperatoris in senatu agrestius pronuntians risus esset, usque ad summam peritiam et facundiam Latinis operam dedit*, which is apparently the basis of Ceuleneer's unsupported remark, *Sept.* 14, that Hadrian kept a trace of a Spanish accent all his life; cf. Schanz-Hosius-Krüger III 4-5.

² SHA *Sept.* 18, 5.

³ Eutropius *Breu.* VIII 19, 1: *Seuerus tamen praeter bellicam gloriam etiam civilibus studiis clarus fuit et litteris doctus, philosophiae scientiam ad plenum adeptus*; Victor *lib. de Caes.* 20, 22: *philosophiae, declamandi, cunctis postremo liberalium deditus studiis; idemque abs se texta ornatu et fide paribus composuit*. In the second passage *artium* has been supplied with *liberalium* but it is perhaps easier to read *liberalibus*; cf. however, 20, 2 also of Septimius: *tantum gratia doctarum artium ualet, etc.*

⁴ Dio LXXVI (LXXVII) 16, 1. Cary, Loeb ed. IX p. 273, translates: "as for education, he was eager for more than he obtained, and for this reason was a man of few words, though of many ideas." Πολυγνώμων may mean not only "sagacious" but also "sententious," as in Philostratus *Vit. Soph.* 1, 16, 4 (ed. Kayser, Teubner, Leipzig, 1872, vol. I p. 19 line 13); cf. Liddell and Scott *Greek Lexicon* (ed. H. S. Jones, Oxford, part 8, 1935) 1437 s.v. It would be tempting to translate "sententious rather than full of wisdom" since that is often the result of too much learning on a mind unable to absorb it. But "loquacious" is the only meaning for πολύλογος given by L & S 1439 s.v. Wisdom and pithiness are certainly Roman rather than "African" characteristics in Latin literature.

⁵ Dio LXXVI (LXXVII) 17, 2. Study while walking about is alien to modern educational methods, but the *Protagoras* of Plato, 314e-315b, describes how the great sophist discussed with his pupils while walking in a courtyard. Aristotle's followers were called Peripatetics from their habit of walking about during their discussions, and Zeno's place of teaching, the Stoa Poikile, suggests the same prac-

appears also in the statement in the *Life* that after his military command in Syria, *Athenas petit studiorum sacrorumque causa et operum ac uetustatum*.¹ Save for the comment in the *Epitome* on his excellence in Punic, there is nothing here inconsistent with a typical Roman educational program.² The passages may aptly be compared with the information given by Apuleius about his own training, which also leaned heavily towards Greek: *linguam At(t)idem primis pueritiae stipendiis merui. mox in urbe Latia aduena studiorum, Quiritium indigenam sermonem aerumnabili labore nullomagistrato praeunte aggressus excolui*.³ Perhaps the last part should be discounted in view of Apuleius' proficiency in Latin; it may have been meant to apply to his hero in the *Metamorphoses* rather than to himself, or to be a rhetorical exaggeration in the vein of Socratic irony.⁴ Apuleius affords another parallel to Septimius; he had a step-son who, like Septimius' sister, *loquitur nunquam nisi Punice et si quid adhuc a matre graecissat; enim Latine loqui neque uult neque potest*.⁵ The youth lived with his uncle, frequented low society, and had "gone native."⁶

The story that Septimius as a boy played at being judge strikes the keynote of his tastes and education.⁷ The aim of his training in letters was that prescribed by Cicero and Quintilian, to make him an orator.⁸

tice. Monastic discipline often combines reading and walking. Mild physical movement seems to assist mental activity.

¹ SHA *Sept.* 3, 7, discussed below p. 159. Bidez, *CAH* XII 612, wrongly places this visit early, before Septimius went to Rome.

² For Septimius' education, *REz* II(4) 2000-2001; Schanz-Hosius-Krüger III 15.

³ *Metamorphoses* I 1; for his studies at Athens, cf. Schanz-Hosius-Krüger III 101 δ. Schanz-Hosius-Krüger, III 89, suggest that perhaps Fronto also studied at Alexandria before he went to Rome.

⁴ *Florida* IV 18; *Apol.* 4, 2-3; 38, 13-26; 87, 12; G. Boissier, *Roman Africa* (Eng. trans. by A. Ward, New York/London, 1899) 255, 263-267; F. Arnaldi, "Vita letteraria e letteratura pagana d'Africa: Apuleius," *Africa Romana* 177-188; R. A. Pack, "Adventures of a Dilettante in a Provincial Family," *Classical Journal* XXV (1939) 67-80, especially 75-76. Compare Socrates' pretense in the opening of the *Apology* 17a-18a, that he knows nothing about rhetoric, a claim belied by the speech at every turn.

⁵ *Apol.* 98, frequently quoted.

⁶ *Apol.* 98.

⁷ SHA *Sept.* 1, 4, quoted above p. 148.

⁸ A. Gwynn, *Roman Education from Cicero to Quintilian* (Oxford, 1926) through-

After his first public declamation, he was sent to Rome, the Mecca of budding lawyers, where he could hope that a family tradition dating from Statius' friend and the protection of two consular great-uncles might give him a favorable start.¹ Possibly, as Victor says, he was not a success as an advocate: *primo litteris, dehinc imbutus foro; quo parum commodante, uti rebus artis solet, dum tentat aut exquirat uaria melioraque, conscendit imperium*.² Yet he never lost interest in the law. Dio tells of his able conduct of trials; in the morning, after dealing with executive business, he held court: εἴτ' ἐδίκασε, χωρὶς εἰ μή τις ἑορτὴ μεγάλη εἴη· καὶ μέντοι καὶ ἄριστα αὐτὸ ἐπραττε· καὶ γὰρ τοῖς δικάζομένοις ὕδωρ ἱκανὸν ἐρέχει, καὶ ἡμῖν τοῖς συνδικάζουσιν αὐτῷ παρρησίαν πολλὴν ἐδίδου.³ The Severan jurists are prominent in part because they came at the end of the creative period of Roman jurisprudence and because, in the confusion of the third century and the intellectual sterility of the fourth, no successors arose who were worthy to displace them as authorities.⁴ But the fact that the three great jurists of this period became praetorian praefects, contrary to the general practice in both the preceding and following periods of appointing military men, indicates clearly the importance which Septimius attached to jurisprudence and to the judicial duties of the praefect.⁵ Furthermore, the Severan dynasty is the first to be quoted

out, especially 246–248. Cf. SHA *Sept.* 18, 5: *dicendi*, quoted above p. 149; Victor *lib. de Caes.* 20, 28, quoted on this page; Eutropius *Breu.* VIII 19, 1, quoted above p. 149 n. 3; Juvenal *Sat.* VII 148–149: *nutricula causidicorum / Africa*, quoted by Platnauer *Sept.* 39 n. 3; cf. Columba, *Africa Romana* 111.

¹ SHA *Sept.* 1, 5, quoted above p. 144.

² *lib. de Caes.* 20, 28; cf. 20, 30: *post multos dubiosque euentus*, quoted below p. 152.

³ Dio LXXVI (LXXVII) 17, 1. The trials were probably those held by the emperor with his *consilium*, of which Dio was presumably a member, and not trials in the senate, which would hardly have occurred almost daily.

⁴ On the prominence of the Severan jurists in Justinian's *Digest* see the indices in the edition of Mommsen (Berlin, 1882) 874–882; Jolowicz, *op. cit.* in next note, 488.

⁵ *RE2* II(4) 1985–1987; Platnauer *Sept.* 175–179; H. F. Jolowicz, *Historical Introduction to the Study of Roman Law* (Cambridge, 1932) 396–399. Durry, *Cohortes* 161, points out that judicial praefects remained the exception rather than the rule after Septimius and, 171–176 (cf. *CAH* XII 380), discusses the judicial duties of the praefect. For the Severan praefects, Passerini, *Coorti* 311–327. Papinian was praefect under Septimius and put to death by Caracalla; the *Life* of the latter says

frequently in Justinian's *Code*.¹ Here again, their legislation undoubtedly displaced much that went before and was not in its turn improved upon by succeeding emperors, whose attention was absorbed in other problems. Nevertheless, the mark which the Severan dynasty left upon Roman law cannot be attributed wholly to the operation of impersonal historical causes or changes; it reflects in a large measure the characters and interests of the rulers themselves and particularly of the founder of the dynasty.

Had Septimius been alien to Roman traditions, he might have been content, like so many other provincials, to remain an equestrian and to enter into the direct service of the emperor, a service which already offered more interest, opportunity, and promise of power than the senatorial career, which had become more and more restricted in scope.² Eutropius, in fact, states that he took a first step towards an equestrian career by becoming a pleader for the imperial treasury: *hic primum fisci aduocatus, mox militaris tribunus, per multa deinde et uaria officia atque honores ad administrationem totius rei publicae uenit*.³ So also Victor says: *Bassianoque Antonini uocabulum addiderit, quod ex illo post multos dubiosque euentus auspicia honorum cepisset patricinio fisci*.⁴ And the *Life* of Geta reads: *quod Seuerum ille ad fisci aduocationem delegerat ex formularia forensi*.⁵ A passage which is probably an intrusion into the text of the *Life* of Caracalla says of Papinian: *eumque cum Seuero professum sub Scaeuola et Seuero in aduocatione fisci successisse*.⁶ The office of *aduocatus fisci*, instituted

of him, 8, 2: *Papinianus (m) amicissimum fuisse imperatori Seuero, ut aliqui loquuntur, ad finem etiam per secundam uxorem, memoriae traditur*, cf. the interpolated passage quoted on this page. Paul and Ulpian began as assessors to Papinian and became praefects under Severus Alexander.

¹ Cf. the index in Krüger's edition (Berlin, 1884), 489-492; Victor *lib. de Caes.* 20, 23: *legum conditor longe aequabilium*.

² *CAH* XI 420-434.

³ *Breu.* VIII 18, 2.

⁴ *lib. de Caes.* 20, 30; for the *illo*, below p. 153.

⁵ *SHA Geta* 2, 4; for the *ille*, below p. 153.

⁶ *SHA Car.* 8, 3. The passage occurs only in ms. P in the lower margin with an interpolation mark after the words quoted in p. 151 n. 5 above, cf. Hohl vol. I p. 189 n. on line 12; *Klio* XIII (1913, not XI as in his note just cited) 273-274, 279, 408; Bursian's *Jahresber.* CC (1924) 203. Hohl regards the passage as a mediaeval note based on Eutropius.

by Hadrian, was held either early in or often at the beginning of the equestrian career.¹ It was generally filled by young lawyers like Septimius.² There is, therefore, no inherent improbability that Septimius held the office, though doubts have been expressed because it does not appear in the *Life*.³ Since Septimius was born in 146 and, according to the *Life*, delivered his first declamation at Leptis in his eighteenth year, he can hardly have gone to Rome before 163/4.⁴ The *ille* of the *Life* of Geta would therefore be Marcus Aurelius, and not, as the context implies, Antoninus Pius, and Victor's unkeyed *illo* would refer to the same emperor.⁵ If Septimius held this office, Marcus may well have been sufficiently impressed by his talents to grant his request, supported by the consular great-uncle, for the senatorial laticlave.⁶ There is no way of knowing what led Septimius to abandon the equestrian for the senatorial career; perhaps the advice of his great-uncle and the promise of a better position socially. He could scarcely have hoped thus early to find it a road to empire or even, considering his later career, to military fame. At any rate, the action was hardly that of one who was ignorant of Rome's traditions or who scorned the senate.

The post of *aduocatus fisci* might be held in place of some military office, or it might follow one, as that of *praefectus fabrum*, or it might

¹ *DE* I 130-131 s.v. It is uncertain whether equestrian rank was required for appointment or might be granted upon appointment; in any case, Septimius probably already had it.

² *CIL* VIII 2, 9249, from Rusguniae in Mauretania Caesariensis: . . . *Licinio Q. f[il. Q]uir. Donato dec. patriae (?) Rusguniens[i]um ad causas fiscales tuendas in prouinciam Ba[et]licam beneficio studiorum prima aetate iuuentutis electo, etc.*

³ Höfner, *Untersuch. zur Gesch. des K. L. Sept. Severus* I (Geissen, 1872-1875) 57; Mommsen, *GS* II (*JS* II) 64-67 = *Zschr. der Sav.-Stift. rom. Abt. XI* (1890) 30-33; *GS* VII (*PS*) 358 = *Hermes* XXV (1870) 288; Dessau, *PIR* III 213 S 346; *REz* II(4) 1944; Hasebroek *Sept.* 6. Mommsen first suspected the passage discussed above in p. 152 n. 6. Ceuleneer, *Sept.* 15 n. 2, 16-17, followed by Platnauer, *Sept.* 39, defended the office; so also Gellens-Wilford 365-366.

⁴ *SHA Sept.* 1, 3, quoted and discussed above p. 139 n. 1. For sec. 4, above p. 148.

⁵ Dessau, *PIR* III 213 S 346.

⁶ *SHA Sept.* 1, 5, quoted above p. 144. Gellens-Wilford, 366-369, discusses at length Septimius' admission to the senatorial class below the office of quaestor, which he regards as unusual. He argues that the date was before 171, in which a Severus was consul but a T. Statilius Severus.

be followed by one, as by the military tribunate.¹ Eutropius gives the third order for Septimius but a corrupt passage in the *Life* has been emended to read: *qu(a)esturam diligenter egit om(n)isso tribu(s) natu militari*.² The *equestris militia* was required less and less during the second century and it is possible, therefore, that the emendation is correct. On the other hand, Eutropius' version has epigraphic parallels and the *Life* may indicate that since Septimius had done military service as an equestrian, he was excused from it after the grant of the *laticlave* and allowed to proceed directly to the quaestorship. Certainty is impossible; if Septimius did hold a military tribunate, it was simply as a qualification for a civilian career and not because he meant to make the army his life's work. If he omitted it, this would be evidence against the view that he was a person of primarily military training. There would have been plenty of time for both his advocacy and his tribunate between his arrival at Rome some time after 163/4 and his quaestorship, at earliest in his twenty-sixth year, 171/2.³

The *Life* continues: *post quaesturam sorte Baeticam accepit atque inde Af(r)icam petit, ut mortuo patre rem domesticam conponeret. sed dum in Africa est, pro Baetica Sardinia ei attributa est, quod Baeticam Mauri populabantur*.⁴ Apparently his quaestorship was prolonged but the precise status of his provincial post remains uncertain; he might have gone out as a governor, *quaestor pro praetore*, but at this late date it is more probable that he received a second quaestorship to act as

¹ Dess. III 1 pp. 415-416 index VI s.v. For an example of the military tribunate following, *CIL* III 2, 6075 = Dess. 1366, from Ephesus: . . .]s *proc. [Augg. / nostr]or. item prae[sidi / Alpiu]m Cottiar. et Ma[rit. praef. / uehic]ulationis Panno[niae / utriu]sq. et Moesiae Sup[erioris / et N]orici praef. al. pr. A[sturum? / tri]b. leg. XI Cl. aduoc. f[isci co/miti] Fulvi Plautiani [pr. pr. etc.*

² Eutr. *Breu.* VIII 18, 2, quoted above p. 152; SHA *Sept.* 2, 3, cf. Hohl I 137 n. on lines 9-10. The emendation *emenso*, suggested by Wachsmuth and favored by Schulz, *Beiträge* 36 n. 47, is far less likely palaeographically than *omisso*. Cf. Ceuleneer *Sept.* 16; *REz* VI(12) 2442, 2445-2446 under *tribunus* 9 (*militum*).

³ Hammond, *Aug. Princ.* 272 n. 12; vonPremerstein, *Klio* XII (1912) 168, 177. Gellens-Wilford, 369, places his election as quaestor in Jan. 171 on his entry into office on the following Dec. 5, the traditional date. He thinks that Septimius was not *candidatus principis* for this office.

⁴ SHA *Sept.* 2, 3-4; vonPremerstein, "Untersuch. zur Gesch. des K. Marcus," *Klio* XII (1912) 167-178, collects the evidence for the Moorish invasions and argues for at least two, in 172 and 176.

financial advisor to the senatorial governor.¹ Such prolongations were not usual, but examples can be found at an earlier date.² The shift from Baetica to Sardinia is attributed by Hasebroek to the necessity of placing Baetica under imperial, that is military, control in view of the invasion.³ Apparently, therefore, the emperor looked upon Septimius as an administrative, not a military officer.

From Sardinia, Septimius went to his native Africa as legate to the proconsul, an administrative assistant, since there were no legions in proconsular Africa.⁴ Such a post would afford a proper background for the story that he had an old friend at Leptis publicly flogged because he, a plebeian, dared to embrace a legate of the Roman people.⁵ This insistence on respect for office may indicate a hard and ambitious nature but hardly one which cared nothing for Roman traditions.⁶ His next office came through imperial favor: *tribunatum plebis Marco imperatore decernente promeruit eumque seuerissime exertissimeque egit*.⁷ It would have taken a man of considerable ingenuity to find

¹ Hasebroek, *Sept.* 6, thought that he was governor *pro praetore*. Mommsen, *Staatsrecht* II 1, 259, n. 2, that he was assistant to the governor with the simple title *quaestor*, which was then customary instead of *pro quaestore*. Cf. Gellens-Wilford 370-372.

² Mommsen, *loc. cit.* in last note; Platnauer *Sept.* 40 n. 1; vonPremerstein, *Klio* XII (1912) 172-173, 175, 177.

³ Hasebroek, *Sept.* 6.

⁴ Hasebroek *Sept.* 7. The title *legatus iuridicus* is not attested in Dess. for Africa and was probably confined to imperial provinces, *RE* XII(23) 1149 s.v. Moreover the *iuridici* were generally praetorians, below p. 157 n. 1. But the province of Africa was divided into three dioceses whose legates depended on the proconsul, J. Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverwaltung*² I (Leipzig, 1881), 466-467. The functions of the legates of senatorial proconsuls were like those of provincial quaestors, Mommsen *Staatsrecht* II 1, 246-247, 257-258; *RE* XII(23) 1143-1144 s.v. The legions of Africa had been taken out of the proconsul's control by Gaius, Hammond *Aug. Princ.* 222 n. 92; Marquardt *op. cit.* 467-470.

⁵ SHA *Sept.* 2, 6; compare the *praecedentibus fascibus* of this passage with the *praelatis fascibus ac securibus* of the tale in 1, 4 that he played at judge as a boy. The latter story suggests that as *legatus* his duties were judicial.

⁶ As examples may be recalled the respect demanded by the consul L. Postumius from the Praenestines in 173 B.C., Livy XLII 1, 7, and by Tiberius from the Rhodians, Suet. *Tib.* 11, 3.

⁷ SHA *Sept.* 3, 1; G. Niccolini, *Il Tribunato della Plebe* (Milano, 1932) 167. Hasebroek, *Sept.* 8, followed Mommsen, *Staatsrecht* II 2, 928 n. 1, cf. *CAH* XII

anything among the attenuated duties of the tribunate which would require either severity or energy and the *Life* may be suspected of some exaggeration.¹ But it is perhaps significant that Septimius took this traditional office seriously.

Praetor designatus a Marco est non in candida, sed in competitorum grege, anno aetatis XXXII, that is, in 177/8.² Hasebroek suspected the phrase *in candida* as an invention based on Cicero's speech *in toga candida* but it is probably a fourth century phrase synonymous with the more correct *candidatus principis*.³ The sentence means that whereas Septimius had received imperial *commendatio* for the tribunate, which ensured his election, he was only "nominated" for the praetorship and had to stand his chance of election.⁴ The *Life* goes on: *tunc ad Hispaniam missus . . . ludos absens edidit*.⁵ The *tunc* suggests that this post was held after his praetorship, the *absens* that while praetor he was sent to Spain. In either case he was probably not a *legatus legionis* but a *legatus iuridicus*.⁶ A study of the careers of the *legati iuridici* mentioned in Dessau's collection of inscriptions shows that usually some office intervened between the praetorship and the

374, in thinking that by the end of the second century all magistrates were in fact designated by the emperor so that the difference between *commendatio* and *nominatio* had ceased to exist; cf. below n. 3.

¹ Mommsen, *Staatsrecht* II 1, 330; Niccolini, *op. cit.* in the last note, 182-183; Gellens-Wilford 373-375. At this time he married his first wife, Marciana, SHA *Sept.* 3, 2, discussed below p. 158 n. 4.

² SHA *Sept.* 3, 3; Gellens-Wilford 375-377, with a table of dates for the *cursus* thus far.

³ Hasebroek *Sept.* 9; cf. above p. 155 n. 7. Ceuleneer, *Sept.* 20, thought that the author was confused by the fourth century practice of applying the term *in candida* to those of the magistrates who were compelled to give games, but this special meaning is not supported by the examples in *Thes. Ling. Lat.* III 245 under *candida*, where the phrase is simply an alternative for *cand. princ.*; cf. Platnauer *Sept.* 42 n. 6; *RE* III(6) 1469-1472 under *cand. princ.*; Niccolini, *loc. cit.* above in p. 155 n. 7.

⁴ Hammond *Aug. Princ.* 133.

⁵ SHA *Sept.* 3, 4 and 6. There intervenes the account of a dream.

⁶ *PIR* III 214 S 346; vonPremerstein, *Klio* XII (1912) 171. Wirth, *Quaestiones* 7, preferred a military legateship; Hasebroek, *Sept.* 9, hesitated. For *legati iuridici* of Tarraconensis, Mommsen *GS* VIII (*NS* I) 357-359 = *Eph. Epigr.* IV (1881) 224-225, a discussion of the inscription given by Dessau as 8842; *RE* XII(23) 1149 s.v.

legateship.¹ This renders it unlikely that the two posts were ever combined and, in fact, it would seem reasonable that a provincial judge would be expected to have had some experience in Rome first. Hence the *tunc* should be preferred, though this leaves unexplained why Septimius gave his games in absence and, according to the order of the *Life*, after his praetorship had expired and he had reached Spain.

Consistently with many of the careers of *iuridici* in the inscriptions, Septimius' next post was a military one, the command of the fourth Scythian legion. The *Life* reads: *legioni>bus< IIII Scythicae dein pr<a>epositus est circa Massiliam*, and vonPremerstein suggested that he took command of the legion there while it, or a part of it, was returning to Syria after assisting to repel a second Moorish invasion into

¹ Dessau, III 1, p 365 index VI, gives fourteen inscriptions which mention *iuridici* of provinces, apart from Egypt and the districts of Italy. The provinces are: Asturia/Gallaecia, Britannia, Hispania cit. Tarr., and both Pannonias. Of the inscriptions, 1079, of the time of Pius (?), and 1155, of the time of Caracalla, appear to place the chief Roman magistracies, the consulship, augurate (in 1155), and praetorship, ahead of the provincial posts, including the judicial legateship, and of the minor magistracies. They therefore do not afford sure instances of judicial legateships preceding praetorships. 597, of the time of Probus, gives only the office of *iuridicus*. The following table summarizes the remainder (x indicates that the office heading the column was held):

Inscr.	Date	Praetor	Curator	Legatus Legionis	Legatus Iurid.	Legatus Legionis	Legatus pr. pr. prou.
1021 & 2	a. 100	x			Hisp. cit.	x	x
1011	a. 100	adlecto inter praet.		x	Brit.		procos.
1015	c. 100			twice	Brit.		leg. cons.
1016	c. 100	x			Hisp. cit.	twice	
1062	136/7	x	uiarum	x	Pann.		x
8975	c. 140	x?			Ast./Cal.	x	x
1070	a. 150	x			Ast./Cal.	x	procos.
1123	c. 186?	x	uiarum		Flam./Umb., Brit.	praef. aer. mil.	x
1151	c. 200	x	rei publ.	leg. pr. pr. prou.	Brit.		procos.
2939	sec. III	x			Apul./Calabr., Hisp. cit.		praeses.
8842	sec. III tarde.	x	rei publ., uiarum		Apul./Calabr. /Luc., Hisp. Cit.	?	

Spain.¹ However, there is no evidence that the legion ever left Syria, its normal post.² Septimius probably joined the legion in Syria in 180 and *circa Massiliam* may safely be emended to *circa Syriam*.³ This, his first command and according to the *Life* his first military post at all, was signalized by no opportunity to display his ability as a soldier; the province remained undisturbed by Parthian raids. Perhaps he took advantage of this freedom from active service to become acquainted with his future wife, a princess of the priestly house of Emesa, Julia Domna.⁴ A period of leisure next intervened, of unknown

¹ SHA *Sept.* 3, 6; Hasebroek, *Sept.* 10, and Ritterling, *RE* XII(24) 1562, mention, only to reject, vonPremerstein's hypothesis, proposed in *Klio* XII (1912) 171, 177. VonPremerstein, on the view that Septimius passed his praetorship in Spain, dated his command in the next year, 179; cf. Gellens-Wilford 376-377.

² *RE* XII(24) 1560-1562 under *legio*.

³ Platnauer, *Sept.* 43 n. 3, and Ritterling, *loc. cit.* above n. 1, cite SHA *Sept.* 9, 4: *Ant)h(ioc(h)ensibus iratior fuit, quod et administrantem se in oriente intriserant*, and Herodian II 10, 8, where Septimius tells his troops that the legions of Syria know his name ἐξ ὧν ἡγεμονεύσαντες ἐκέλευε διωκῆσθαι. Hasebroek, *Sept.* 10, adds Dio LXXVIII (LXXIX) 8, 5-6, who gives an oracle spoken by the Baal of Apamea to Sevrus ἰδιωτεύοντι τε ἔτι, that is, not yet emperor. These incidents prove that he had been in Syria and the command of the legion seems the logical time. The transition from *Syriam* to *siriam* would be easy and the SHA show this confusion, as *Siriam* for *Syriam* in ms. P in *Marc.* 8, 6, cf. Hohl I 54 n. on lines 7/8, or *Sybillinis* for *Sibyllinis* in ms. P in *IIadr.* 2, 8, cf. Hohl I 4 n. on line 24. The SHA also show occasionally *Suria* for *Syria* and the like, cf. Hohl's index, II 297. Prof. E. K. Rand suggests that for *Siriam* was substituted *Assiriam* by a confusion frequent in mss., though not attested by Hohl for the SHA, which afford only *Assyriorum* in *Claud.* 13, 3, cf. Hohl's index, II 256. A step further might have been the substitution of *circum* for *circa*, though the former is far rarer in the SHA than the latter, cf. C. Lessing, *SHA Lexicon* (Leipzig, 1901-1906) 66-67 s.v. From *circumassiriam* it would be an easy step to *circa Massiliam*. It is also possible that the corruption conceals the name of the headquarters of the legion. Ritterling, *op. cit.* 1560, gives this as first near Antioch and later Cyrrhus or Zeugma. From *circa Zeugma Syriae*, by the loss of the *Zeug*, *circa masiriae* and hence *circa Massiliam* might have arisen. *Circa*, according to Lessing's examples, *loc. cit.*, is used to mean "near" only with towns and not with larger areas. However, *Thes. Ling. Lat.* III 1085-1088 s.v. gives occasional instances of its use with larger areas.

⁴ SHA *Sept.* 3, 9, quoted below p. 159, implies that Septimius had not known her before he went to Gaul and that he had to woo her through the intervention of friends, but it seems improbable that from Gaul he would have ranged as far as Syria for a wife. Ceuleneer, *Sept.* 23, argued that his marriage to her should be placed dur-

duration since the precise dates of his offices cannot be determined, and he betook himself to Athens to study.¹ He was not necessarily in exile, as has been suggested, but because of his close association with Marcus, he may well have fallen out of favor with Commodus on the latter's accession in 181.² If so, his return to a public career may have been a result of the downfall of Commodus' minister Perennis in 185.³ The *Life* says: *dein Lugdunensem provinciam legatus accepit. cum amissa uxore aliam uellet ducere . . . uxorem petit, Iuliam scilicet, et accepit interuentu amicorum. ex qua statim pater factus est.*⁴ The

ing his Syrian command but this is unlikely. His first wife was Paccia Marciana, *CIL* VIII suppl. 2, 19494 = Dess. 440, whom SHA *Sept.* 3, 2 calls Marcia (by confusion with Commodus' concubine?) and whom it says that he had married during or after, *tunc*, his tribunate, cf. above p. 156 n. 1. As emperor he erected statues to her, *Sept.* 3, 2; 14, 4 (the inscription just mentioned was erected by Cirta), and did not speak of her in his memoirs, cf. *PIR* III 4 *P* 12. The date of her death is unknown but the *Life* implies that it had occurred shortly before he went to Gaul and if he had met Julia in Syria about 180, it is perhaps a safe assumption that he would have married her earlier had he been free to do so. Marciana apparently had no children since Julia was Caracalla's mother, refs. below p. 160 nn. 1, 2. For Julia, M. G. Williams, "Studies etc. I, Julia Domna," *AJA* VI (1902) 259-305; G. Herzog, *RE* X(19) 926-935 under Iulius (-a) 566. She was definitely of eastern stock according to Dio LXXVIII (LXXIX) 24, 1: ἐκ δημοτικοῦ γένους. Perhaps her family had received citizenship from the Flavians and Antonines, who were generous to easterners, B. Stech, *Senatores Romani etc.* (*Klio*, Beiheft X, 1912) 179; cf. refs. below p. 169 n. 1.

¹ SHA *Sept.* 3, 7, quoted above p. 150. Gellens-Wilford, 377-378, places him in Syria for 182-184, in Athens in 185, and in Lugdunensis 186/188.

² Hasebroek, *Sept.* 10-11, does not accept vonDomaszewski's view that Septimius had actually been exiled, *Abh. zur röm. Rel.* (Leipzig/Berlin, 1909) 212 = *Archiv für Rel.-wiss.* XI (1909) 238; cf. *RE* 2 II(4) 1945-1946; Ceuleneer *Sept.* 21-22; Platnauer *Sept.* 44. Commodus on his accession discharged his father's advisers, Dio LXXII (LXXIII) 1, 2; Herodian I 6 and 8; SHA *Com.* 2, 6; 3, 3.

³ Perennis was apparently praetorian praefect with Paternus at the death of Marcus; for his career and downfall, Passerini, *Coorti* 305-306; *PIR* III 316 *T* 146; Stein, *RE* 2 VI(11) 952-956 under Tigridius Perennis. Stein, 955, places his fall in 185 instead of 186 as formerly assumed, e.g. by Platnauer *Sept.* 44; *RE* 2 II(4) 1946; Hasebroek *Sept.* 13. Cf. Passerini 306 (correct "165" to "185") for further refs.

⁴ SHA *Sept.* 3, 8-9. An inscription dubiously restored to refer to him as proconsul by Renier, *Comptes-Rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres* II (1858) 31-37, cf. Gellens-Wilford 378-379, is referred to another governor by the addition of a new fragment in *CIL* XIII 1, 1, 1679.

Life attributes his choice of Julia to his discovery that her horoscope destined her to marry a king. If within the space of his governorship of Lugdunensis are to be fitted his discovery of the horoscope, his wooing of Julia by messenger, her voyage to Gaul, and the birth of Caracalla at least nine months after the marriage, he may well have been governor for more than a year. Caracalla was apparently born at Lyons, so that the date of his birth should help to determine that of Septimius' governorship.¹ But the date has been variously estimated from the divergent figures given by the sources as either the fourth or the sixth of April in 186 or 188.²

*Post hoc Siciliam proconsularem sorte meruit. suscepitque Romae alterum filium. in Sicilia quasi de imperio uel uates uel C(h)ald(a)eos consuluisse, reus factus est etc.*³ These statements suggest that the birth of Geta occurred after Septimius' appointment to Sicily but before he went there and was charged with treason, a charge from which the *Life* goes on to say that he was acquitted by the praetorian praefects because of the increasing unpopularity of Commodus. However, the *Life* adds: *consulatum cum Apuleio Rufino primum egit, Commodus se inter plurimos designante*, and Dio confirms this by stating that he was one of the twenty-five whom Commodus appointed in a single year.⁴ This year has been variously given as 189 or 190, depending on which of these years scholars have selected as that of the fall of Cleander.⁵

¹ *Ep. de Caes.* 21, 1: *Lugduni genitus*, accepted by vonRohden, *RE* II(4) 2439; Fluss, *RE* 2 II(4) 1946; Herzog, *RE* X(19) 930. Cf. Dio LXXVII (LXXVIII) 6, 1a; Hasebroek *Sept.* 12. The tenure of an imperial governorship was not for any fixed time, Mommsen *Staatsrecht* II 1, 259.

² For the date of Caracalla's birth, Platnauer, *Sept.* 48-53, collects the evidence most conveniently and concludes that he was the son of Julia, not Marciana, which seems certain, and that he was born in 188. Also in favor of 188 are Ceuleneer, *Sept.* 23; Heer, *Philologus* suppl. IX (1901) 77 n. 165; Hasebroek, *Sept.* 12; and Fluss, *RE* 2 II(4) 1946. VonRohden, *RE* II(4) 2439, and Herzog, *RE* X(19) 930, accept 186.

³ SHA *Sept.* 4, 2-3. The *Life* erroneously puts his Pannonian between his Gallic and Sicilian governorships: *dein Pannonias proconsulari imperio rex*, which leads it to make his final command one over the German legions, 4, 4-5, quoted below p. 162; cf. Hasebroek *Sept.* 15-16.

⁴ SHA *Sept.* 4, 4; Dio LXXII (LXXIII) 12, 4; the twenty-five are also attested by SHA *Com.* 6, 9.

⁵ Hasebroek, *Sept.* 15, accepts 189; Heer, *Philologus* suppl. IX (1901) 76-79,

It is, of course, impossible for Septimius to have been governor of Sicily in 189 after the birth of Geta on May 27th if he was consul in the same year. And even if he was consul in 190, it is hardly likely that his proconsulship is to be crowded in between May, 189, and the uncertain month of his consulship in the next year. Hence the *Life* has probably derived the correct order of proconsulship followed by the birth of Geta at Rome from some chronological record and has then added the dubious story of his prosecution.¹ Proconsuls during the Julio-Claudian period appear to have been expected to be in their provinces on the first of June and they regularly had terms of only a year.² This presumably still remained the practice so that either Septimius' term in Sicily would have run from June, 187, through May, 188, or he went in 188 and returned early in 189. On the first assumption, Caracalla's birth must almost necessarily have fallen in 186, since his father's governorship of Lugdunensis would have ended

argues for 190, which Fluss, *RE2* II(4) 1947, accepts. An inscription referred to as evidence for the consulship of Septimius in *DE* II 2, 1073 col. 1, under his name in the list of consuls, and in *RE2* II(4) 1947 (with a reference to *DE* III, wrongly) does not concern the emperor; *CIL* III suppl. 2, 14149, 2, from Philadelphia in Arabia: *Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Anioni[no]* (thus) *Aug. Arm. Part. Med. Germ. Sa[rm.]* *op[er]is ualli perfec'um* (thus) *sub* *Seuero leg. Augg. pr. pr. co[s. des.]*. The editors date this from the titles of Marcus to 176/80, which would be too early for Septimius' command in Syria, not to say for his designation, which presumably occurred only in the early part of the year of his consulship, Mommsen *Staatsrecht* I 589. Moreover, the inscription comes from Arabia, not Syria; the restoration *co[s. des.]* is uncertain: and vonRohden, cited by the editors in a note *ad loc.*, suggested that the man in question was a certain Erucius Severus.

¹ On the prosecution, Hasebroek, *Sept.* 14-15; Platnauer *Sept.* 46-47 n. 6; *RE2* II(4) 1946-1947. The birth of Geta is determined from the day given by SHA *Geta* 3, 1: *natus est Geta Seuero et Vitellio cons. Mediolanii, etsi aliter alii prodi-derunt, vi kal. Iunias ex Iulia*, and the length of his life, 22 years, 9 months, given by Dio LXXVII (LXXVIII) 2, 5, since he was assassinated in 212 and probably in February, *RE2* II(4) 1565-1566, 1569-1570 under Septimius 32 (Geta); *PIR* III 206-208 S 325. The statement of SHA *Sept.* 4, 3 that he was born in Rome is usually preferred to that of *Geta* 3, 1 giving Milan. If Milan is correct, he may have been born while Septimius was returning from Lugdunensis, if his governorship lasted that long and the Sicilian proconsulship followed Geta's birth, cf. Gel-lens-Wilford 378-381.

² Mommsen *Staatsrecht* II 1, 255-256.

before June, 187. This in turn would put the beginning of this governorship as early as 185. However, the figures which yield 188 as that of Caracalla's birth are somewhat more convincing than those for 186 so that perhaps the Sicilian proconsulship should be squeezed in between Septimius' departure from Lugdunensis after Caracalla's birth on April 4/6, 188, and his return to Rome before that of Geta on May 27, 189. Perhaps the prosecution for treason, if it occurred, caused his recall for trial before the praetorian praefects in Rome. The whole chronology is uncertain, and for the present purpose it may suffice to point out that both Septimius' governorships were of peaceful provinces.¹

*Post consulatum anno ferme fuit otiosus; dein Laeto suffragante exercitui German(ic)o praeponitur. profiscens ad German(ic)os exercitus etc.*² The date of his appointment to this command depends upon whether his consulship fell in 189 or 190 and on the question whether the year means one between two full calendar years or simply the elapsed time between the end of the consulship and the beginning of the legateship, which might have fallen in successive calendar years.³ But it is generally placed in 191. The statement that he was in command of the German legions is in conflict with Herodian and Dio and with the fact that his elevation occurred at the capital of Upper Pannonia, Carnuntum.⁴ Dio says that Pescennius, Septimius, and Clodius each

¹ SHA *Pesc.* 3, 3-5 states that during Septimius' governorship of Lugdunensis, Pescennius *missus erat ad comprahendendos desertores, qui innumeri Gallias tunc uexabant*. G. Tropea, *Studi sugli SHA* IV (Messina, 1901) 45-46, identifies this trouble with the revolt of Maternus, Herodian I 10 and *bellum desertorum* in SHA *Com.* 16, 2, which he dates in 185 as having inspired the fifth consulship and eighth salutation of Commodus in 186. Stein, *RE* XIX(37) 1091 under Pescennius 2, follows Hasebroek and Baynes, cf. below p. 165 nn. 1, 2, in regarding this, like the rest of Pescennius' early career, as pure invention.

² SHA *Sept.* 4, 4-5; the remainder of the second sentence is discussed above p. 143.

³ Heer, *Philologus* suppl. IX (1901) 77-78 n. 165, cf. 115 n. 212, makes the year that between his consulship in 190 and his appointment in 191; Hasebroek, *Sept.* 15, makes it 190, between 189, the year of his consulship, and 191, the year of his legateship; Stein, *PIR* I² 56 A 358, says 191 *uel* 192. Gellens-Wilford, 381, suggests that under Commodus consuls may have been designated a year ahead, and Septimius would have been designated by Cleander in 189 for office in 190. He too puts the Pannonian command in 191, p. 383.

⁴ Mommsen, *Provinces of the Roman Empire* (Eng. trans. by Dickinson, New

had command of three legions, which would mean that Septimius was governor of Upper Pannonia only. There the wars of Domitian and Trajan had led to an increase of the garrison from one to three legions.¹ Herodian, on the other hand, attributes to him a command over both Pannonias, which would have placed under him a fourth legion, the garrison of Lower Pannonia.² Probably Dio's account is preferable, since extended commands were given only to members of the imperial house, like Verus, or perhaps to important generals in times of danger, like Avidius Cassius.³ Septimius was not an important general and the Pannonian frontier had enjoyed for ten years the peace bought by Commodus after his father's death.⁴

The mention of Laetus' favor led vonDomaszewski to suggest ingeniously that the praetorian praefect already planned to depose Commodus and hoped to replace him with Septimius, for whom he secured the command which dominated Italy.⁵ He pointed out that not only was Septimius sent to Pannonia but his brother Geta to Dacia.⁶ Moreover, the governors of Arabia and Egypt under Pertinax reappear under Septimius. Whether they continued through the

York, 1887) I 223; V. Chapot, *Le Monde Romain* (Paris, 1927) 425; cf. above p. 160 n. 3.

¹ Dio LXXIII (LXXIV) 14, 3. The Pannonian legions were definitely established under Hadrian and remained unchanged until the reign of Septimius, H. M. D. Parker, *The Roman Legions* (Oxford, 1928) 157-168.

² Herodian II 9, 2; cf. *Pannonias* in SHA *Sept.* 4, 2, discussed above p. 160 n. 3.

³ Platnauer, *Sept.* 47-48 n. 3, argued for a *maius imperium* but Hasebroek, *Sept.* 15-16, and Fluss, *RE* 2 II(4) 1947, prefer to confine him to Upper Pannonia. The general command of Verus is attested by SHA *Ael.* 3, 2 and *Hadr.* 23, 13 and is confirmed by inscriptions; cf. *RE* III(6) 1831 under Ceionius 7. That of Avidius, stated only by Xiphilinus, Dio LXXI (LXXII) 3, 1(2), is less certain, though accepted by vonRohden, *RE* II(4) 2381 under Avidius 1 (Cassius).

⁴ Dio LXII (LXIII) 1-3; Herodian I 6, 8-9; SHA *Com.* 3, 5; Chapot, *op. cit.* above p. 162 n. 4, 426.

⁵ *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* neue Folge LIII (1898) 638-639.

⁶ SHA *Sept.* 8, 10 states that when Septimius was leaving Rome after the fall of Didius *occurrit ei et statim Geta frater suus, quem prouinciam sibi creditam regere (pr)-aecepit aliud sperantem*. The province was Dacia, *CIL* III 1, 905; III suppl. 1, 1, 7794; the first is dated by the third *trib. pot.* of Septimius to 195 (Gellens-Wilford wrongly 165 on p. 363 but correctly on p. 265) and it seems certain that Geta had been appointed governor before the uprising of Septimius if he came from it so soon thereafter, *PIR* III 208 S 326.

period of Pescennius' independence or were removed by him and replaced by Septimius, it is hardly likely that had they supported the pretender, Septimius would have left them in office. Since Pescennius' elevation occurred before the news of that of Septimius had reached Syria, vonDomaszewski argued that they did not join him because they knew in advance that other plans had been made in the west.¹ He concludes that Laetus' plans were anticipated by the premature assassination of Commodus and that in the emergency he turned to Pertinax. The argument is clever and does suggest the possibility that the appointment of Septimius formed part of a plot against Commodus. It is, however, unlikely that Laetus intended to put Septimius himself on the throne. The latter's career had given him little opportunity to become known by the troops, save for the legion in Syria, and none to gain their favor by military achievements. Furthermore, the later hostility of the senate and populace indicates that he was neither known nor liked at Rome. Since Laetus was a member of the group which engineered the assassination of Commodus, he could have controlled their eagerness or hastened his own preparations had the plot progressed more quickly than he desired.² The occurrence of the murder during the night before January first, 193, strongly indicates that it happened according to schedule. New Year's Day, when the senate and people were assembled to welcome the incoming consuls, would furnish an admirable occasion to perpetrate and announce a *coup d'état*.³ Had Laetus desired the elevation of a provincial governor, either Clodius Albinus or Pescennius Niger were much better qualified to win the support of the legions. Clodius, an African like Septimius but of senatorial family, had risen through a career in which most of his posts had been military to the legateship of the important province of Britain, where from the reign of Antoninus through that of Septimius constantly recurring troubles de-

¹ Since Pescennius seems to have been elevated at about the same time as Septimius, the middle of April, 193, the movements must have been independent, *RE* XIX(37) 1093.

² *SHA Com.* 17, 1; *Dio LXXII (LXXIII)* 22, 4; *Herodian I* 17, 2. The conspirators were Laetus, the chamberlain Eclectus, and the concubine Marcia.

³ For the date, *SHA Com.* 16, 2; *Pert.* 4, 8; *Dio LXXII (LXXIII)* 22, 4; *Victor lib. de Caes.* 17, 10.

manded a strong governor.¹ He was popular both with the legions of the western provinces and, judging by the support which he received at Rome against Septimius, with the senate and populace as well. Pescennius, like Septimius, came of an equestrian family. He had the advantage, however, of being an Italian. Though his career is not so well known as that of Albinus, it, too, seems to have been military in character.² He was apparently older than his rivals and, though perhaps he did not enjoy Clodius' popularity at Rome, he had the most important military post in the empire, the legateship of Syria, whose legions formed Rome's defense against her greatest rival, Parthia. Probably, if Septimius' appointment formed part of a general plan, he was regarded simply as a "sure" man, one, perhaps, with a grudge against Commodus for his enforced retirement to Athens some years previously.³ He would also have seemed a "safe" man because his lack of military experience and prestige rendered it unlikely that he would take advantage of his strategic position to seize the fruits of the conspiracy for himself. The tradition that Rome was the center of the empire, where emperors should be made, had not been broken since the years 68/69. The precedent of the murder of Domitian in 96 showed that a palace cabal could, if it acted with speed and determination, ensure the succession for whom it wished and that the legions would acquiesce. Moreover, the senate was the logical and traditional body to choose, or at least to confirm, an emperor. The conspirators would hardly have cared to violate public opinion by opening the road to provincial pretenders and civil war. In all probability, the plot

¹ *PIR* II² 280-281 *C* 1186; *RE* IV(7) 67-70 under Clodius 17. Dessau, *Hermes* XXIV (1889) 354, denies, however, that Clodius was born, as stated in *SHA Clod* 1, 3, at Hadrumetum. Hohl discusses the problems of the birthplaces of Clodius and Pescennius in Bursian's *Jahresber.* CC (1924) 201; cf. also on the dubious value of the accounts of their careers, N. Baynes, *The Historia Augusta* (Oxford, 1926) 89-91. Even Clodius' senatorial origin might be doubted; compare *SHA Clod.* 1, 3: *familia nobili*, with 4, 1: *nobilis apud suos et originem a Romanis familiis trahens*, and note that he began his career with the equestrian post of *tribunus equitum*, 6, 1; cf. Mommsen, *Straatsrecht* III 1, 544, 546.

² *PIR* III 24 *P* 185; *RE* XIX(37) 1090-1092 under Pescennius 2. *SHA Pesc.* 3, 1-2 states that he was popular with the people; Dio LXXIV (LXXV) 6, 1-2a, belittles his ability. Cf. above p. 162 n. 1.

³ Above p. 159.

went through as scheduled; the distinguished and able Pertinax, popular with the senate and respected by the legions, was put forward by the conspirators and was acknowledged by the praetorians and by the senate.¹ The governors of the key provinces, Clodius, Septimius, and Pescennius, accepted him, as had perhaps been already agreed upon. It was only when the praetorian guard removed Pertinax and elevated the incompetent Didius, who put Laetus to death, that the governors saw an opportunity to seize the power for themselves.² Even though Septimius' move was dictated by personal ambition, it may be questioned whether Pescennius, had he heard in time of the action of the Pannonian troops, might not have acquiesced, as did Clodius, for the good of the empire. But the motives and policies of the rivals, once the break with Rome had occurred, would require more elaborate treatment than can be given here and would carry the discussion beyond the present topic.

The career of Septimius, obscure though it has appeared in many details, was certainly not military in character. His military tribunate is not proved; he was perhaps transferred as quaestor from Baetica because the Moorish invasion demanded military intervention; his two terms as legate to governors, in Africa and in Spain, were apparently civil and even judicial in scope; and his command of a legion was unmarked by any warlike activity. His governorships were passed in the quiet provinces of Lugdunensis and Sicily. Even his appointment to the primarily military governorship of Pannonia came during a time of peace and in circumstances which suggest that his lack of military experience occasioned it. Though as emperor he was to conduct able campaigns, he took part actively in only one battle, that of Lyons against Albinus. VonDomaszewski, accepting Herodian's account against Dio's, accuses him of almost incurring defeat by his tactical clumsiness, not to say cowardice.³ In short, the family of Septimius, whatever Punic or Libyan strains it may have contained,

¹ Dio LXXIII (LXXIV) 1; SHA *Pert.* 4, 5-11; Herodian II 1, 5 ff.

² On the death of Laetus, Dio LXXIII (LXXIV) 16, 5; SHA *Did.* 6, 2. He was different, therefore, from the Laetus who was one of Septimius' generals before Lyons, Dio LXXV (LXXVI) 6, 8; Herodian III 7, 3-5; SHA *Sept.* 15, 6. This general is probably the Julius Laetus of SHA *Did.* 8, 1, cf. *PIR* II 198 I 251.

³ *Loc. cit.* above p. 163 n. 5; Dio and Herodian, *loc. cit.* above n. 2.

had enjoyed long and close associations with Rome and with the "republican" tradition. Septimius' own training was that of a lawyer, not a soldier. And his career illustrates to what an extent senators had already become in fact excluded from military commands.¹ Septimius was no condottiere, like some of the emperors of the third century; he was a typical product of the second century, a Roman bureaucrat.

If the conclusion be accepted that Septimius was not predisposed by heredity, training, or career to an unRoman and military bias, the measures which he initiated to reduce the importance of the senate and of Italy and to favor the soldiers must be explained as the consequences not of simple prejudice but of some rational attempt to meet the situation in which he found the empire. To formulate an adequate explanation would require an investigation into contemporary conditions and into the scope of Septimius' reforms which would expand this article to the length of a book.² For the moment, therefore, it must suffice simply to indicate the lines which such an investigation might follow. The most fundamental element in the situation, the character of Septimius himself, will always remain more enigmatical than it would be were the sources more complete and trustworthy. Ambition, ruthlessness, and superstition are not necessarily Punic characteristics. "Caesar was ambitious."³ If Septimius displayed the heads of Pescennius and of Clodius on poles, Antony had hung Cicero's head upon the Rostra.⁴ The prominence of omens and astrology in the accounts of Septimius reflect the interest of an age in which Dio composed his first work on the presages of the emperor's rise, and Philostratus wrote, at the order of Julia Domna, the "gospel" of Apollonius of Tyana.⁵ Superstition itself was present in every period

¹ Stein, *Röm. Ritt.* 449-452; C. W. Keyes, *Rise of the Equites in the Third Century* (Princeton, 1915) 49-54. Last, *CAH* XI 432, comments on the degree to which equestrians also became purely civil officials.

² Cf. above p. 138 n. 1.

³ Shakespeare, *Julius Caesar* Act III Scene II line 83.

⁴ For Pescennius and Clodius, Dio LXXIV (LXXV) 8, 3; LXXV (LXXVI) 7, 3. For Cicero, Plut. *Cic.* 49, 1; *Ant.* 20, 2; Livy *Per.* CXX; Appian *Bel. Ciu.* IV 20. Münzer, *RE* VII(13) 282 under Fulvius (-a) 113, doubts the story that Fulvia pierced the tongue with a pin, Dio XLVII 8, 3-4.

⁵ Dio's book, LXXII (LXXIII) 23, 1-2. For Philostratus, cf. the preface to

of Roman history; Sulla believed in his "luck" and Tiberius had his court astrologer Thrasyllus always by him.¹ The character of Septimius must be judged in terms of itself, not of race or upbringing. It is often true that those most ready to overthrow existing institutions are persons brought up so near to their centers that by familiarity they become contemptuous of the weakness of the old order.² Moreover, the militarists among modern dictators, Mussolini and Hitler, had previously held only the rank of corporal, while the professional soldier, Napoleon, left as his most enduring contribution to France her *Code Civil*. Hence the program of Septimius does not necessarily imply an unRoman and military character or training.

The parts played by self- and public interest in determining the policy of Septimius are equally hard to distinguish. He was resolved to establish a dynasty. Yet the "republican" Vespasian had told the senate *aut filios sibi successuros aut neminem*.³ And the conscientious Marcus chose his unworthy son Commodus to succeed him rather than run the risk of civil war by passing him over in favor of a more able heir.⁴ The dynastic principle had been, in fact, a necessary condition of the principate from the beginning, however much Augustus had sought to conceal it.⁵ Septimius turned against the senate because it had favored Clodius; in this, personal feelings undoubtedly played a part, but he may also have come to realize, as had those of his predecessors who displayed real executive ability, namely Tiberius, Domitian,

Philimore's translation (2 vols., Oxford, 1912) and *Vit. Apoll.* 1, 3. There is not space here to deal with Septimius' religious policy, cf. *REz* II(4) 1996-1999; Nock, *CAH* XII 416-417, who indicates African elements.

¹ For Sulla, J. Carcopino, *Sylla etc.* (Paris, 1931) 108-109; for Tiberius, E. Ciaceri, *Tiberio etc.* (Milan etc., 1934) 101; for Thrasyllus, Vetter, *REz* VI(11) 581-584 s.v. 7.

² An ancient list might include such diverse figures as Peisistratus, Solon, Cleisthenes, Pericles, Alcibiades, Agis, Cleomenes, the Gracchi, Catiline, and even Tiberius. For the leadership of the upper classes in modern revolutions, C. C. Brinton, *The Anatomy of Revolution* (New York, 1938) 65-79, 123-134, 146-147.

³ Suet. *Vesp.* 25; on Septimius' dynastic policy, Ensslin, *CAH* XII 370-371; Columba, *Africa Romana* 121.

⁴ Weber, *CAH* XI 376, does not mention this factor among those which may have influenced Marcus and Last, pp. 415-416, only hints at it. But cf. H. M. D. Parker, *A History of the Roman World from A.D. 138 to 337* (London, 1925) 28.

⁵ Hammond *Aug. Princ.* 77-78.

and Hadrian, that it was impossible to secure the coöperation of that conservative body for any program of reform and efficiency. To this realization also may be attributed the heightened position which provincials occupied in the senate under the Severi, though it is noteworthy that the orientals and Africans show no marked advance in comparison with the western provincials.¹ The furtherance of the tendency which had been present since the beginning of the principate, to substitute imperial for senatorial officials and, within the imperial service, to prefer knights to senators, was likewise a step in the direction of administrative efficiency. In the same way the reduction of Italy to the level of the provinces was no sudden act; it resulted from the slow operation of both economical and political factors, in which at least half of the process might equally well be called the raising of the provinces to the level of Italy.²

The ancient authorities universally portray Septimius as having frankly recognized that his power rested on the support of the troops.³ In this he merely drew aside a veil that from the beginning had but thinly covered the reality. It was the great merit of Augustus and of his more constitutional successors that they managed to keep the troops loyal to the principate without allowing them to exercise undue pressure upon it.⁴ The part which the army played in the history of the third century need not necessarily be attributed to the favorable treatment which the troops received from the Severi; the soldiers never elevated an emperor of their own accord; in each case some commander, either through ambition or through necessity, stirred them up to sup-

¹ Under the Antonines, the proportion of senators of known origin is about 55% of Italian and 45% provincial; under Septimius, the percentages are more than reversed, to 36% Italian and 64% provincial. The proportion of provincials who are of oriental stock rises from 60% to 65% and of African sinks from 30% to 27%. In view of the paucity of cases involved, these last variations are not significant. The percentages are based on the material collected by P. Lambrechts in his two studies covering *La Composition du Sénat romain* from Hadrian through Diocletian, the first published at Antwerp in 1936, and the second as *Dissertationes Pannonicae* I 8 (1937).

² M. Rostovtzeff, *Storia Economica etc.* (Ital. trans. of *Soc. and Ec. Hist. etc.*, Florence, 1933) ch. VI pp. 229 ff.

³ Dio LXXIV (LXXV) 2, 3; LXXVI (LXXVII) 15, 2, cf. Herodian III 13, 4; Dio LXXVII (LXXVIII) 10, 4, on Caracalla.

⁴ Hammond *Aug. Princ.* 148-155.

port his claims. It was the weakness of the central government, and more particularly the poor candidates placed on the throne at Rome, which enabled later pretenders to follow the precedent of Septimius. Moreover, the military changes introduced by Septimius were not aimed solely at consolidating his own power. Since the publication of the studies of Durry and Passerini, the praetorian guard appears in a new light, as having performed an important function not only in policing Rome but in serving as a training school for legionary officers. Since the Italianate guard had ceased to fulfill these purposes when it became corrupted during the reign of Commodus, Septimius may well have felt, like Vitellius, that there was no longer any justification for recruiting the guard from Italy and the most romanized provinces, and that it was time to open the road to promotion and pay to the legionaries.¹ The increase of the garrison of Rome by doubling the numbers of the praetorians, if this doubling did occur, and by quartering one of the newly formed Parthian legions on the Alban mount, did not serve merely to dominate the unruly mob and the disloyal senate.² Unsettled conditions had enabled Bulla to ravage Italy and Maternus Gaul, and a group of British mutineers to reach Rome undeterred.³ The ease with which Septimius himself had captured the City showed the need for more adequate protection, a need which culminated three quarters of a century later in the building of Aurelian's Walls. The increase of the soldiers' pay in part corresponded to

¹ On the incompetence of the old guard, Dio LXXIII (LXXIV) 16, 3; 17, 2-4. On the changes, Platnauer *Sept.* 165-166; Durry *Cohortes* 247-249; Passerini *Coorti* 171.

² Durry, *Cohortes* 82-89, cf. 18, 32, argued that each praetorian cohort originally numbered only 500 men, like those of the legions, and that Septimius first increased the number to 1000, but Passerini, *Coorti* 59-67, is not convinced and retains the traditional view that the number was 1000 from the beginning under Augustus. Herodian, however, III 13, 4, states that the garrison of Rome was quadrupled in addition to the camp outside the gates, which strongly suggests an increase in the guard as well as the creation of new units.

³ For Bulla, Dio LXXVI (LXXVII) 10; for Maternus, Herodian I 10; for the British mutineers, Dio LXXII (LXXIII) 9; SHA *Com.* 6, 2; 8, 4. A Pannonian delegation similarly reached Rome with a report that Perennis meant to elevate his son to the purple, Herodian I 9, 7. Dio himself, LXXIV (LXXV) 2, 4-6, blamed the brigandage on the exclusion of spirited Italian youths from the guard, but Bulla's men were mostly freedmen and slaves.

the depreciation of the currency and the rise of prices which had gone on during the second century.¹ The recognition of their marriages as legally valid simply confirmed what had come to be an established custom; as the legions became immobilized, the unions contracted by soldiers came to be more permanent.² The equestrian gold ring had already been cheapened through its bestowal on rich freedmen by imperial favor as a sign that they could therefore claim free-birth, *ingenuitas*, and through its extension to military officers whose pay gave them an equestrian census.³ Septimius apparently extended the privilege only slightly, to the lower legionary officers, the *principales*, and not to all legionaries.⁴ Thus the military reforms of Septimius may be explained as due not merely to his own desire for the support of the troops but also to the need of adapting the terms of military service to changed economic, political, and social conditions.

This review of Septimius' reforms has been hasty and inadequate. Nevertheless, it suggests that his policies were dictated not only by his personal prejudices and ambition but also by reasons of sound policy. To a considerable degree, the difficulties in which the empire found itself at the end of the second century were the result of the laissez-faire attitude of the "good" emperors.⁵ Septimius may well have been mistaken in thinking that the cure for the difficulties was to eliminate the senate from the administration and to concentrate this more fully in the hands of the emperor, to remove Italy and the Italians from their privileged position, and to recognize the importance of the army as the support of authority and the defense of the state. But the creation of a centralized government behind the protection of a strong army is a

¹ Dury *Cohortes* 267-273; *RE* II(4) 1991.

² Herodian III 8, 5; Dury *Cohortes* 294; Platnauer *Sept.* 168-169; *RE* II(4) 1992-1993.

³ Stein *Röm. Ritt.* 36-46.

⁴ Stein, *Röm. Ritt.* 46-47, following vonDomaszewski, *Rangordnung des röm. Heeres* (*Bonner Jahrbücher* CXVII [1908]) 42-43, 81; Platnauer *Sept.* 164. VonDomaszewski, 172, thought that from the time of Septimius, sons of *principales* began their military careers as *tribuni laticlaui*, as officers qualified to enter the senate, and that Septimius thus elevated provincials of lowly origins to first equestrian and in the second generation to senatorial status in order to recruit the aristocracy. The result, according to him, was a "barbarization" of the senate.

⁵ Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.* above p. 169 n. 2, second half of ch. VIII, pp. 428-449.

solution which has been tried by many another state in the face of internal disorganization and external threat; it is the solution which would naturally suggest itself to an ambitious and ruthless ruler who had seen the unsatisfactory character of the existing organization from the inside, as a Roman bureaucrat.

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THE CONSTITUTION AND ORIGINAL PURPOSE OF THE DELIAN LEAGUE

By J. A. O. LARSEN

THE original nature and purpose of the Delian League has been obscured almost entirely by the transformation of the League into the Athenian Empire. Yet the memory of what it once had been and was intended to be was still alive when Thucydides wrote and can be reconstructed from incidental references in his work — largely in the speeches — supported by a small amount of material from other sources. Probably the two most fundamental points in the argument to be developed below are: (1) that the representation of Athens within the assembly on a basis of equality with each and every member of the League shows that the organization was not meant to serve as an instrument for the development of Athenian power, and that the intention was not that Athens should have a controlling influence in directing its policy; (2) that the organization of the Delian League within a larger Hellenic League shows that its purpose was to serve merely as an instrument for the conduct of the naval war against Persia. In this connection it is important to note that the formation of the League did not lead to a break between Sparta and Athens, and that a formal break did not come before 462. Thus, in the period between 479 and 462, in spite of jealousy and growing antagonism, the strongest forces in Greek inter-state politics were Panhellenism and the national war against Persia and not dualism and the opposition between Athens and Sparta. Panhellenism and the ideas later embodied in the fourth century movement for a *koine eirene* belong to the lost causes of the fifth century, though they were more nearly realized in our period than at any time before 338.¹

¹ Throughout the study "symmarchy" will be used to designate an alliance in the form of a league, though the original Greek word and related words are applied also to other alliances. This narrower usage of the word is now widely adopted, though there is not yet complete agreement concerning the nature of the early symmachies. Of recent literature can be cited: Schwahn, *s.v. Symmachia* in P.-W.; Hans Schaefer, *Staatsform und Politik: Untersuchungen zur griechischen Geschichte des 6. und 5. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig, 1932 (with a point of view completely at vari-

The importance of the Hellenic League for any evaluation of the Delian League makes it necessary to begin with a brief discussion of this larger organization.

I. ORGANIZATION OF A PERMANENT HELLENIC LEAGUE IN 479

In an earlier paper I have tried to prove that the Congress of Plataea in 479 took steps to transform the alliance that had functioned during the Persian War into a permanent Hellenic League, and that the formation of this League followed the normal procedure in the organization of symmachies: the formulation of the principles of the constitution of the league in decrees adopted in a sort of constitutional convention, the embodiment of these principles in treaties, and the ratification of the treaties by oath.¹ The arguments used there will not be repeated, though it is necessary to take up some details of special importance for the present study. The evidence for the continued existence and importance of the Hellenic League will be taken up in Section V. It may be well to note that the reference to the embodying of the constitution in treaties does not mean that there is evidence that the complete constitution was repeated in every treaty. All that is certain is that the treaties were so worded that it was known that their ratification involved the ratification and acceptance of the constitution of the league.

ance with that of the present study); Leo Ingemann Highby, *The Erythrae Decree: Contributions to the Early History of the Delian League and the Peloponnesian Confederacy* (Klio Beiheft XXXVI), Leipzig, 1936 (important reviews by Meritt, *AJP* LVIII [1937] 359-61 and De Sanctis, *Riv. di filologia* LXV [1937] 299-309; contains a refutation of Schaefer). Franz Hampl (*Die griechischen Staatsverträge des 4. Jahrhunderts v. Christi Geb.*, Leipzig, 1938), in a special chapter devoted to the Second Athenian League, tries to prove that the relation of the power holding the *hegemonia* to the assembly of the league was the same in the Delian, Peloponnesian, and Second Athenian Leagues — a theory rejected in the present study. Of importance is also the discussion of the early symmachies given by Gaetano De Sanctis in his *Storia dei Greci* (2 vols., Firenze, 1939). Several articles by myself will be cited, particularly "Sparta and the Ionian Revolt: A Study of Spartan Foreign Policy and the Genesis of the Peloponnesian League," *Class. Phil.* XXVII (1932) 136-50 and "The Constitution of the Peloponnesian League," *Class. Phil.* XXVIII (1933) 257-76 and XXIX (1934) 1-19.

¹ *Class. Phil.* XXVIII (1933) 262-65 in "The Constitution of the Peloponnesian League."

Though Pausanias presided at the Congress of Plataea, there is reason to believe that the crucial motion or motions were made by Aristides.¹ There is no reason to doubt this information though it is derived exclusively from Plutarch. It is not refuted by the fact that Thucydides² connects the name of Pausanias with the program adopted. It was natural that the credit later should be given to the man who was the presiding officer as well as the commander-in-chief, and, above all, that in discussions between Spartans and Plataeans the emphasis should be placed upon the rôle of the Spartans. Furthermore, unless proceedings were highly irregular, it is unlikely that the presiding officer also made the motions. Nor is there any reason why there should be disagreement between the Spartans and Athenians on the general program adopted at Plataea, and from the Spartan point of view it must have been an advantage to have the initiative seem to come from an Athenian.

The Hellenic League of 479 has been referred to as a symmarchy, and it was natural that it should have this character. It was a continuation of the special alliance of the Greeks formed for the prosecution of the Persian War. It is possible that this older organization was known as "the symmarchy of the Hellenes."³ If so, the name probably was inherited by the later organization. Its character as a symmarchy appears also in the statement of Plutarch that it was decided that annual meetings of *probouloi* and *theoroi* were to be held at Plataea and "that a confederate Hellenic force be levied, consisting of ten thousand shield, one thousand horse, and one hundred ships, to prosecute the war against the Barbarian."⁴ Concerning this account it can be said

¹ Plut. *Arist.* 21. 1.

² II 71. 2, III 68. 1.

³ ἡ συμμαχία τῶν Ἑλλήνων (Plut. *Arist.* 10. 6; cf. *Class. Phil.* XXVIII [1933] 263 n. 21). An argument in favor of this name can be found in the later use of "Hellenes" in connection with the Delian League. This point will be discussed below.

⁴ Plut. *Arist.* 21. 1-2 (translation of B. Perrin, Plutarch's *Themistocles and Aristides*, New York, 1901). The report also refers to penteteric Eleutheria and to the measures that specifically concern Plataea. Perrin (note *ad. loc.*, cf. p. 42) thinks that Plutarch's source probably was Idomeneus, which is tantamount to saying that the account is suspect, but note: (1) the attribution to Idomeneus is uncertain; (2) the account does not really involve the glorification of Aristides at the expense of Pausanias; (3) when the manner in which Plutarch transmits good, bad,

that the reference to *probouloi* as well as *theoroi* shows that the organization was to be not purely religious but also political, and that if the war was to be continued as a general Hellenic undertaking, it would be natural to provide for annual meetings to discuss its policy. One more detail is derived from Plutarch. The annual meetings of the assembly were scheduled to take place on the anniversary of the Battle of Plataea.¹ The designation of the political representatives to these meetings as *probouloi* inevitably will suggest to some that the assembly was authorized merely to conduct preliminary discussions and make recommendations, but here and in other organizations of the time it seems more correct to take *probouloi* to mean representatives that deliberated *for others* rather than as representatives that deliberated *beforehand*.²

The reference to *theoroi* and other references to religious festivals and ceremonies indicate that the new organization also partook of the nature of an amphictiony. It is likely that it took over the program of the Amphictionic League to create a Panhellenic unity with a religious sanction and combined this with the form of more active coöperation of a symmachy. Now the other permanent symmachies of the time, notably the Peloponnesian and Delian leagues, entrusted the *hegemonia* permanently to a single state. This makes it natural to suppose that the Hellenic League did the same, and, if it did, the *hegemonia* can have been held only by Sparta. On the other hand, no state held the official *hegemonia* in amphictionies, and it is likely that

and indifferent material is remembered, it is necessary to judge any particular detail by the manner in which it supports or is supported by other evidence. It is always necessary to remember that Thucydides and others of our best informants often omit valuable information and that it is always possible that inferior historians have preserved good material passed over by them.

¹ Plutarch (*Arist.* 19. 8) states that τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν συνέδριον was still meeting at Plataea on this day in his own time. Records of the organization from imperial times are known (*SIG*³ 835 A; *IG* VII 2509). It might be suggested that this was the date merely for the religious and not for the political assembly, but Plutarch (21. 1) implies that the *probouloi* and *theoroi* met at the same time.

² For the two fundamental meanings of πρόβουλος see Liddell-Scott-Jones, *Lexicon*. I believe all will agree that the *probouloi* of the organization of the time of the Persian War (Herod. VII 172. 1) made final decisions. There were *probouloi* also in the Ionic League (Herod. VI 7).

the Greek organization for the prosecution of the Persian War, as a temporary organization for the prosecution of a particular war, was not organized under the *hegemonia* of a single state. In other words, whether the details of the controversy concerning the command in the Persian War are historical or not, it is possible that the question of command actually was decided by "the *probouloi* of Hellas chosen from the cities which had the better mind about Hellas."¹ Hence it may be considered likely, but by no means certain, that at the Congress of Plataea the permanent *hegemonia* of the Hellenic League was entrusted to Sparta. This makes it impossible to determine the exact nature of Sparta's rights in the matter of the naval war or the exact steps that had to be taken in order to have the Delian League recognized as the official instrument of the Hellenic League for the prosecution of the naval war. At any rate, the course of events makes it clear that Sparta at first exercised the *hegemonia* both on land and sea.²

The interpretation of the work of the Congress of Plataea given above makes intelligible some puzzling details of the history of the year and at the same time is confirmed by them. When the Greek

¹ Herod. VII 172. 1.

² The recognition that the Hellenic League continued to function after 479 is by no means new. See Grote, *History of Greece*, V (London: John Murray, 1849) 254-55; Busolt *Griechische Geschichte* III 72 and 297; E. M. Walker *CAH* V 71; M. L. W. Laistner, *A History of the Greek World from 479 to 323 B.C.*, p. 34; Glotz *Histoire grecque* II 136-37. These writers, however, with the exception of Grote, fail to give any weight to the Congress of Plataea. No doubt the normal feeling would be that Grote accepted the evidence of Plutarch on this point because he wrote at a time when historical criticism had not reached the high level of today. On the other hand, it can be said that, if we did not have an account of the Congress of Plataea, it would almost be necessary to postulate something of the kind. The entire impression left by the accounts of the Persian War is that the organization that conducted the war was not a permanent symmarchy but a special league for temporary coöperation for the duration of the emergency. A later example of an organization of this kind is that of the anti-Spartan coalition in the Corinthian War. When the temporary organization of the Persian War later appears as a permanent organization, it is natural to believe that this was due to some definite action and not to mere natural growth. If natural growth can explain the continued alliance of Athens and Sparta down to 462, it certainly cannot explain that the constitution of the Hellenic League was something to which appeals could be made as late as the time of the Peloponnesian War.

fleet still was at Delos before the Mycale campaign, Samian ambassadors arrived and an alliance, ratified by oaths, was arranged.¹ After the Battle of Mycale the Samians, Chians, Lesbians, and other islanders were admitted into the alliance (*ἐς τὸ συμμαχικόν*) and were sworn to remain faithful and not to revolt.² Why were the Samians, who already had been accepted as allies at Delos, included in this ceremony? It is true that the ambassadors that came to Delos had been sent secretly without the knowledge of the Persians or of the tyrant of the city, but the Greek leaders did not hesitate to accept them as qualified to act for their community. Certainly the natural explanation is that the first time the Samians were accepted as allies by the organization conducting the war; the second time they were admitted into the Hellenic League as reorganized at Plataea.

II. THE FORMATION OF THE DELIAN LEAGUE

Obviously, of all Greek states, Athens was best qualified to assume leadership of the naval war if this was relinquished by Sparta. Equally obviously, she could not attain this leadership peacefully without the consent of Sparta.³ This consent was obtained through the influence of those elements at Sparta which favored relinquishing the command and were not averse to having it assumed by Athens. This party, however, was opposed by those who favored the retention of the command, and for some time the two parties were evenly balanced.

Some indication of the state of affairs and some steps that led to the formation of the Delian League can be traced as early as 479, particu-

¹ Herod. IX 90-92.

² Herod. IX 106; Diod. XI 37. 1; cf. *Class. Phil.* XXVIII (1933) 263-64, where, on chronological grounds, it is argued that the league into which they were admitted was the Hellenic League as already reorganized at Plataea.

³ This would be even more important, if, as some have maintained, Athens was a member of the Peloponnesian League. I have already expressed my disagreement with this theory (*Class. Phil.* XXVIII [1933] 263). De Sanctis (*Storia dei Greci* II 19 f.) recently has reaffirmed his belief that Athens joined the Peloponnesian League some time before the intervention of Sparta at Aegina in the interest of Athens. But this is impossible if Thucydides (I 102. 4) is right in speaking of the alliance of Athens and Sparta as formed against the Mede — language certainly not to be reconciled with Athenian membership in the Peloponnesian League and hardly with an alliance formed as early as 491.

larly in the acceptance of the Samians as allies before Mycale and in the admission of them and other islanders into the Hellenic League after Mycale.¹ The acceptance of the Samians while their city was still under Persian control was equivalent to a promise to begin the war of liberation, and this promise was reaffirmed when later the large group of islanders were admitted into the Hellenic League. Furthermore, there already is a suggestion that the Spartans may relinquish the command. Whether the story that they proposed to transplant the Ionians is historical or not, it probably is true that the admission of the islanders was due to Athens and that Leotychidas and his fellow-officers were unwilling to become involved in a long war in defense of the Ionians. This implies that they were ready to wash their hands of the affair and to relinquish the command of the naval war to the Athenians. This was made even more clear when Leotychidas later in the season returned home and Xanthippus took charge of the operations.² Apparently, however, the majority of the authorities at home did not approve of this action and so in 478 sent out Pausanias to take charge. His unpopularity caused the Ionians to approach the Athenians with the proposal that they assume the *hegemonia*, and the latter to promise to defend the interests of the Ionians. Meanwhile Pausanias was recalled and brought to trial at Sparta.³ It is important to note that the reply of the Athenians to the Ionians as reported by Thucydides did not include the promise to assume the *hegemonia* but merely the pledge to act as the protectors of the Ionians. Meanwhile accusations against Pausanias were lodged at Sparta, doubtless both by the Athenians and others.⁴ So far the procedure, at least of the

¹ Herod. IX 90-92, 106.

² Herod. IX 114; Thuc. I 89. 2.

³ Thuc. I 95; Diod. XI 44; Plut. *Arist.* 23, *Cimon* 6; Justin II 15. 13-16. Only Thucydides is of much help in reconstructing the course of events. Diodorus injects confusion by placing the command of Pausanias in the year of Adeimantus (477/6), but 478 — the date generally accepted — certainly accords better with the account of Thucydides and is corroborated by the fact that Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.* 23. 5) places the oaths ratifying the Delian League in the year of Timosthenes (478/7). The act of violence against the ship of Pausanias reported by Plutarch (*Arist.* 23. 5) cannot be considered historical.

⁴ Thucydides (I 95. 3) speaks of accusations made by Hellenes that came to Sparta; Plutarch (*Cimon* 6. 3) specifically states that Aristides and Cimon urged the ephors to recall Pausanias.

more responsible elements, had been perfectly regular. Whether what followed was equally regular is less certain. The Ionians and Athenians apparently considered that the recall of Pausanias by Sparta justified them in making independent plans for the future prosecution of the war. Since Sparta readily acquiesced, this must have been the opinion also of one group in that state. To be sure, the group that favored the retention of the command at sea was strong enough to send out Dorcis — probably in 477 — but when the allies refused to accept him, no steps were taken to force his authority upon them, and no further commanders were sent out by Sparta.¹

It is likely that already in 479, after the admission of the islanders into the Hellenic League, and after, or in connection with, the return of Leotychidas to Sparta, preliminary plans were made for the prosecution of the naval war without Spartan leadership. These plans may well have involved the formation of a special league under the *hegemonia* of Athens. If so, the plans were abandoned or temporarily shelved when Pausanias appeared on the scene in 478. However, as soon as he was recalled, the plan was resumed and what we know as the Delian League was organized. Thucydides definitely states that the allies transferred their allegiance to Athens at the time of the recall of Pausanias,² and there is no reason to doubt his statement. However, since the first step taken by the Athenians and other allies was to accuse Pausanias at Sparta, the crucial step in the formation of the League cannot have been taken before his recall was certain and probably not until he actually had left the fleet. Undoubtedly some sort of constitutional convention was held, though this is reported only by Diodorus.³ Again it must have been the commanders of the various contingents in the fleet that acted as delegates. That is, the

¹ Thuc. I 95. 6-7.

² Thuc. I 95. 4.

³ Diod. XI 47. 1 ὁ μὲν Ἀριστείδης συνεβόλεψε τοῖς συμμάχοις ἅπασιν κοινὴν ἄγουσι σύνοδον ἀποδεῖξαι [τὴν] Δῆλον κοινὸν ταμιεῖον κτλ. Here σύνοδος refers to the convention which formulated the program of the League. The silence of Thucydides on this point, as well as on the ratification of the treaties embodying the constitution by oaths, cannot be considered negative evidence. Even though his history was written to be "a possession for all time," it does not seem to have occurred to him that future generations of readers would not be acquainted with ordinary Greek political institutions and so he has given detailed description neither of the institutions of Greek city-states nor of those of the Peloponnesian, Hellenic,

procedure of the Persian War, when the commanders of the various contingents, whether in the fleet or in the army, were in the habit of acting as an assembly of the Hellenic League, was followed. The officers could easily get together for discussions, and such discussions may have been held both in 479 and in 478, but the emphasis given by our sources to the rôle of Aristides shows that the plan adopted was considered essentially the work of the latter year.

The adoption of the constitution was speedily followed by the ratification, if we are to trust the statement of Thucydides which connects the transfer of the *hegemonia* and the recall of Pausanias. Other evidence also indicates early ratification. This took the form of an exchange of oaths between Athens and the members of the League,¹ that is, unquestionably treaties between Athens and the individual states that joined the League.² The ratification, however, took place in a single ceremony before the fleet and was not secured by an exchange of embassies between Athens and the various cities. This is indicated by the report of our informants that there were two parties in the exchange of oaths, Aristides acting for Athens and the Ionians or Hellenes, and above all by the ceremony of sinking weights into the sea. This can only mean that the commanders of the various contingents in the fleet took the oaths on behalf of their respective cities, though in such a vital matter they probably first consulted the home authorities. Nevertheless, it is likely that the whole process was completed in the fall of 478.³

and Delian leagues. As far as these matters are concerned, he wrote as one who knew for others who knew.

¹ Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 23. 5; Plut. *Arist.* 25. 1.

² Aristotle (*Pol.* 1284 a 39) probably refers to these treaties when he states that Athens reduced Samos, Chios, and Lesbos in violation of treaties.

³ E. Cavaignac (*Études sur l'histoire financière d'Athènes au V^e siècle: Le Trésor d'Athènes de 480 à 404* [Paris, 1908], p. 37) and Glotz (*Histoire grecque* II 114) place the final ratification in the spring of 476, Cavaignac at Delos, Glotz at Athens. When Glotz places it at Athens, this probably is a mere slip, for he cites Cavaignac for proof of his statement. There, of course, is no proof except the supposition that the ratification by the commanders of the fleet cannot have been final. It is better to accept the sources and to believe that the procedure followed was unusual. It is not safe to conclude that the Greeks in 478/7 followed the same routine as they would have used half a century or a century later.

Whether it was necessary for the new organization to receive further approval from the Hellenic League is uncertain. In any case the course of events indicates that the Delian League was organized to act for the Hellenic League in the conduct of the naval war. The Congress of Plataea had envisaged continued warfare by sea, the admission of the islanders into the Hellenic League in 479 had made such warfare inevitable, the same year the question whether the command should be exercised by Sparta or Athens had been raised, and finally in 478 the task was assumed by Athens and the Delian League. If further approval by the Hellenic League was necessary, it could, no doubt, easily be secured once the objection of Sparta to the Delian League was withdrawn. But it is also possible that the commanders of the united fleet or army were still considered competent to act for the Hellenic League and that the action of the fleet and the consent of Sparta were all that was necessary.

That Sparta gave her consent after some hesitation, is indicated clearly by the account of Thucydides. According to this Sparta sent out Dorcis to take command, probably in 477, the allies refused to accept him, and the Spartans made no further attempt to exercise the command in the naval war. Thucydides adds that they were glad to get rid of the Persian War, and considered the Athenians competent to lead and, for the time being, friendly to themselves.¹ The appointment of Dorcis must have been the last occasion in which the Spartan group favoring the retention of the naval command had its way; the refusal of the allies to accept him must have given the upper hand to their opponents, who now gave their approval to the Delian League at least by refusing to contend with Athens for the naval command. That a more formal approval was given is not certain but is very likely, for some sort of understanding must have formed the basis for the formal coöperation between Athens and Sparta and their continued alliance.

There is only an apparent contradiction between the account just given and the statement of Herodotus² that the Athenians contended for the *hegemonia* and took it away from the Spartans using the conduct of Pausanias as a pretext. Undoubtedly the Athenians

¹ Thuc. I 95. 6-7.

² VIII 3. 1-2.

desired the *hegemonia*, and undoubtedly the Ionians, even if the formal initiative came from them, did not act without knowledge that their proposal was acceptable to the Athenians. Thus the statements in other sources concerning the efforts of Aristides and Cimon to influence the allies¹ are founded on fact. There was a contest, though a peaceful one, in which the protagonists were the Athenians and the Spartan party that favored the retention of the command at sea. The victory was won by the Athenians with the help of the Spartan party that favored their cause.

The Spartan consent to the formation of the Delian League has been obscured partly by misunderstandings between Athens and Sparta already in the period in question, and partly by the later hostility between the two states. Thus it is not surprising that Aristotle² should speak of a revolt of the Ionians from the *symmachia* of the Lacedaemonians and the successful efforts of Aristides to bring this about. On the other hand, there seems to be nothing in the incidental references in Thucydides to the formation of the League to contradict the account given above. The Athenians in their speech at Sparta are made to say that they acquired their *arche* not by force but through the action of the Spartans, who did not wish to remain and complete the war, and of the allies, who themselves requested the Athenians to become their leaders. The speech later contains a reference to the subsequent change of heart on the part of the Spartans, and again returns to the point that the Athenians had accepted an *arche* that was offered them, and that they at first had been considered deserving of this by the Spartans themselves.³ This seems correct enough except for the implication that what was involved was not merely the *hegemonia* of the League but the control of the later Athenian Empire. Probably even more important is the speech of the Athenian Euphemus at Camarina, for the reason that he emphasizes the antagonism of Ionians and Dorians and the ambition of Athens

¹ Diod. XI 46. 4-5; Plut. *Arist.* 23, *Cimon* 6.

² *Ath. Pol.* 23. 4.

³ Thuc. I 75-76. There may be a subtle play on the word ἀρχή, which could mean an office or command such as the *hegemonia* of the League but also refers to an empire. Hence the implication that what the allies had offered and Sparta had approved was not merely the *hegemonia* but empire.

and yet says nothing that implies an open break at the time when the Athenians "got rid of the command (*arche*) and leadership of the Lacedaemonians."¹

III. THE CONSTITUTION OF THE DELIAN LEAGUE

An outline of the constitution is given by Thucydides in one brief chapter,² which contains the following points:

1. It was decided which cities were to furnish money and which ships.
2. The office of *Hellenotamiai*, held by Athenians, was instituted.
3. The first assessment of tribute was for 460 talents.
4. Delos was to serve as treasury.
5. The assembly of the League met in the temple at Delos.

To this the following two points can be added from the first sentence of the narrative in the next chapter:

6. The members were autonomous.
7. The policy of the League was determined by the assembly.

Precious as this account is, it needs to be supplemented by information from other sources. It may also be noted that even it contains features that may not be correct for the original constitution. It has been questioned that the *Hellenotamiai* originally were Athenian,³ and it is almost unnecessary to say that it is doubtful whether the original tribute was placed as high as 460 talents.⁴ Nevertheless, several items such as the arrangements for the treasury and its administration and for the meetings of the assembly, clearly belong to the original constitution. As for the assessment of tribute, the connection of Aristides

¹ Thuc. VI. 82.

² I 96.

³ E.g. by E. M. Walker, *CAH* V 46.

⁴ The details of the tribute is not one of the questions to be discussed in this paper, but it may be well to say that the amount of the assessment cannot be determined by inferences concerning the sum actually collected. It is impossible to say how nearly the sums collected at this period corresponded to the assessment. It is possible that the references to the success of the work of Aristides implies that the allies were satisfied and paid their quotas. On the other hand, it is possible that the total of the assessment included not only the quotas of actual members but also those of anticipated future members not yet liberated.

with this task¹ makes it likely that the assessment, whatever the amount, was included in the original constitution. It is unlikely that the various cities should have ratified the constitution without some knowledge of the obligations that they assumed. It is also likely that the proviso that Athenians were to supply the *Hellenotamiai*² was included. In short, it is clear that Thucydides actually does summarize some of the chief features of the original constitution.

The League as a Permanent Offensive and Defensive Alliance: — The oaths ratifying the constitution of the League are said to have contained the pledge to have the same friends and enemies.³ This clause, occurring in slightly different forms in a multitude of treaties, is the usual formula for an offensive and defensive alliance.⁴ That this alliance was intended to be permanent is indicated by the ceremony of sinking weights into the sea performed in connection with the exchange of oaths.⁵ The oaths imply further that secession was forbid-

¹ The most conclusive proof is the reference to τὸν φόρον τὸν ἐπ' Ἀριστείδου in the Peace of Nicias (Thuc. V 18. 5). For further evidence see G. Busolt *Griechische Geschichte* III 77 n. 2.

² See p. 199.

³ Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 23. 5: τοὺς ὅρκους ὥμοσεν [Ἀριστείδης] τοῖς Ἴωσιν ὥστε τὸν αὐτὸν ἐχθρὸν εἶναι καὶ φίλον.

⁴ See *Class. Phil.*, XXVIII (1933), 271-73 and the literature cited there.

⁵ Arist. *loc. cit.*; Plut. *Arist.* 25. 1. For the meaning of the sinking of the weights cf. Herod. I 165. The incident, and the conclusion that the Delian League was organized as a permanent alliance, is generally accepted by those scholars who have considered the evidence, e.g. E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums* III 489 and 492; E. M. Walker, *CAH* V 40; Bruno Keil, *Griechische Staatsaltertümer* (in Gercke and Norden *Einleitung* III² [Berlin, 1914]) 407; Botsford-Robinson, *Hellenic History* (New York, 1939), p. 119. Strange to say the usually cautious Busolt (*Griechische Geschichte* III 72 n. 2 and *Staatskunde* 1340 n. 6) rejects the oaths as unhistorical, apparently largely misled by the clause τὸν αὐτὸν ἐχθρὸν εἶναι καὶ φίλον, which he considers irreconcilable with the autonomy of the members. This clause, however, is not irreconcilable with autonomy (*Class. Phil.* XXVIII 270-76). Schaefer (*Staatsform und Politik* 68) remarks: "τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ φίλους νομίζειν . . . entspricht nicht dem Denken der Griechen zur Perserzeit." He overlooks, or at least fails to mention, the evidence from Aristotle for precisely this period. Naturally a statement from a single work written about 150 years after the event is not the most secure proof for an important fact. However, when it is remembered that the crucial clause means nothing more than an offensive and defensive alliance, there is considerable evidence in other sources to support it.

den. That such was the nature of the League is indicated also by other sources. That it was an offensive alliance, is indicated by its purpose to prosecute the war against Persia and to free the Greeks, and by the fact that failure to perform the military duties required was considered an offense.¹ That secession was prohibited is implied in the series of reductions of seceding allies by the Athenians acting with the consent of the assembly of the League.² Most conclusive of all is the speech of the Mytilenaeans, which, though an appeal for aid to Sparta and the Peloponnesian League, is devoted almost exclusively to justifying their revolt.³ Even at this date, when the Delian League had been transformed into the Athenian Empire, the few remaining free allies, if they revolted, were in danger of being regarded as traitors by those very states that were engaged in war against Athens in defense of the freedom of the Greeks. This must mean that secession was forbidden and that the oaths taken in 478 were still regarded as binding even by the enemies of Athens. Furthermore, the date of this incident, long after the cessation of hostilities against Persia, creates a strong presumption that the oaths were binding not for the duration of the war nor for a limited period but for all time.

Yet the mere definition of the League as an offensive and defensive alliance does not make clear the extent of the obligations involved. Thus the Peloponnesian League, though it was such an alliance, permitted members to conduct separate wars against non-members and even against other members provided these wars did not interfere with League wars.⁴ In this respect the Delian League marked an advance over the Peloponnesian League. Wars between members

¹ The purpose of the League is discussed in a special section. Among the pretexts for the reduction of allies by the Athenians were *λιποστρατία* and failure to supply ships (Thuc. I 99. 1, VI 76. 3).

² It is hardly necessary to enumerate examples of the reduction of allied cities. The question of the approval of the assembly will be discussed in connection with the assembly. Inscriptions, of course, record oaths containing pledges not to revolt, but none of these belong to the original, unspoiled Delian League.

³ Thuc. III 9-14.

⁴ *Class. Phil.* XXVIII (1933) 270-76 and XXIX (1934) 1-10. Separate wars with outsiders, XXVIII 275 and n. 55; wars between members, *ibid.* 274 and n. 53 and the literature cited there.

were prohibited. This is implied by the statement, in the speech of Hermocrates delivered at Camarina, that the Athenians reduced some of the allies on the pretext that they carried on wars against each other.¹ This statement, precisely because it takes the form of an incidental reference and does not come from a formal description of the League's constitution, carries considerable weight. An illustration of action according to this rule may be found in the interference of Athens in the war between Miletus and Samos (440), though this belongs to a period in which Athens had begun to act arbitrarily. It may be more difficult to determine the extent of the obligations of the League to defend its members. The defense against Persia was one of the primary purposes of the League, but what about defense against other states? It is likely that in the minds of the organizers of the League, the people that counted were divided into three classes: members of the Delian League, other members of the Hellenic League, and the Persians and their subjects. For all three classes there was adequate provision even if not in the constitution of the Delian League itself. The duty of defense against the Persians already has been mentioned. The Greeks that were members of the Hellenic League were allies of the Delian League and hostile action on the part of any one of these states would have been — like the break between Athens and Sparta in 462 — a violation of the alliance formed against the Mede.² Protection against other members of the League was secured through the clause prohibiting war between members already discussed. This must have involved the duty of interceding against aggressors. Actual conditions did not fully correspond to this theory. There were Greek states, such as Argos and Thessaly, that did not belong to the Hellenic League, and there were barbarian neighbors, for instance, in Thrace. The obligations of the League against these groups is less clear. The Greek states in question probably were ignored as something that should not have existed, and, in any case, the problem belonged to the Hellenic League rather than the Delian League. Action against neighboring barbarian tribes probably would have been looked upon as routine police work that belonged to the individual states rather than to the League. In spite of all uncertainties, however, the positive

¹ Thuc. VI 76. 3.

² Thuc. I 102. 4.

information we have suggests that the entire foreign policy of members was subordinated to that of the League.

Freedom of Members: — The very manner in which the Delian League was founded should be enough to make it clear that the member states must have been free. In general it seems true that symmachies retained to the end the theory of the freedom of the members no matter how much their freedom might be limited in actual practice. This explains how the Peloponnesian League could remain in existence and the Second Athenian League be founded at a time when the autonomy clause of the King's Peace was one of the supreme laws in Greek inter-state relations. Yet the mere membership in a symmarchy limited the freedom of action and so the problem of freedom within a symmarchy becomes a part of the larger problem of the extent of actual limitation reconcilable with theoretical "freedom." The clearest documentary proof that membership in a symmarchy was not considered incompatible with "freedom and autonomy" is found in connection with the Second Athenian League.¹ For the Delian League itself there is, in the speech of Diodotus delivered in connection with the trial of the Mytilenaeans, proof that it was possible for a member to be "free" and yet to have assumed obligations of such a nature that a violation of them was considered rebellion.² The same conclusion can be reached by combining the evidence for the freedom with the references to the revolts of members.³ For freedom there is the

¹ In the Aristoteles decree (*IG*² II 43 = *SIG*³ 147).

² After stating the policy that he thinks Athens ought to pursue Diodotus continues: οὐ νῦν τοῦναντίον δρῶντες, ἦν τινα ἐλεύθερον καὶ βίᾳ ἀρχόμενον εἰκότως πρὸς αὐτονομίαν ἀποστάντα χειρωσώμεθα, χαλεπῶς οἰόμεθα χρῆναι τιμωρεῖσθαι (Thuc. III 46. 5). It is hardly necessary to state that βίᾳ ἀρχόμενον is not part of the law of the League but a description of the actual treatment of its members by Athens. On the other hand, the freedom referred to, though the Delian League as a League actually was dead, must be the freedom guaranteed to the members of the League. Thus the passage furnishes a proof, if proof is necessary, that, whatever had happened to the Delian League, its constitution had not been abolished *in toto*, and that the treaties of any state that had not been reduced by Athens still were valid in 427. Similarly the revolt referred to must be the revolt of members of the League. Incidentally the passage will be troublesome to those that try to define precisely ἐλευθερία and αὐτονομία, since it implies that it is possible to be ἐλεύθερος and still to revolt πρὸς αὐτονομίαν.

³ For revolts it may suffice to mention Thuc. I 98-99, Diod. XI 70. 4.

express statement of Thucydides¹ that the members at first were autonomous and the reference in the speech of the Mytilenaeans to the equality and autonomy of the early days of the League.²

It seems possible to go farther and to state that though coercion of members apparently was regarded as legitimate — and probably even compulsion against states that did not wish to join — the reduction even of revolting members to the status of subjects was contrary to the constitution.³ Thus the entire later policy of Athens of reducing members to subjection was a violation of the first principles of the League, and well might Pericles remark, if the words are his, that the Athenians exercised a tyranny which it had been unjust to assume but which it was dangerous to relax.⁴ Similarly, the later Athenian policy of imposing the democratic form of government upon members was a violation of the spirit if not the letter of the constitution. The guarantee of freedom itself involved the right to retain the form of

¹ I 97. 1.

² Thuc. III 10. 4, 11. 1 and 3. Cf also their statement that the purpose of the alliance was to free the Greeks from Persia and not to enslave them to the Athenians (10. 3).

³ Besides the vague reference of Aristotle (*Pol.* 1284 a 39) to the reduction of the Samians, Chians, and Lesbians in violation of treaties, there is the specific statement of Thucydides (I 98. 4) that Naxos was the first allied city to be enslaved contrary to the established law (of the League) and that her enslavement was followed by that of others. "Enslaved" (*ἐδουλώθη*), of course, is used in the figurative sense to mean "reduced to subjection." The phrase *παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκός*, here interpreted "contrary to the established law (of the League)" frequently is taken in a looser sense to mean "contrary to Hellenic law" (Jowett), or again "contrary to recognized principles of right" (Forbes). Classen, however, has "die festgesetzte Ordnung wie sie c. 96 eingeführt war" (the wording but not the interpretation is changed in the revised edition of Steup), and Crawley's translation is based on a similar interpretation. Since the expression occurs in an account of the Delian League and the rise of the power of Athens, the interpretation of Classen and Crawley is to be preferred.

Note that in this sentence Thucydides condemns as illegal the entire policy of reducing allies to subjection. On the other hand, he has reported in the same chapter the action against Carystus without any similar condemnation. Apparently by the *ὁμολογία* which led to the conclusion of hostilities the city was admitted into the League as a regular free member. The manner in which this incident is reported suggests that the use of compulsion against states unwilling to join the League was regarded as legitimate.

⁴ Thuc. II 63. 2.

government a state desired, and it is possible that no further specific clause was felt necessary. In any case, the governments of the members were not always democratic. Just before the revolt of Samos, Athens established democracy in that city;¹ obviously down to this time the form of government had not been democratic. At an unknown date — but certainly within the period of the existence of the Delian League or of the Athenian Empire — Athens is reported to have favored the oligarchic party at Miletus.² Likewise Mytilene at the time of her revolt still retained an oligarchic form of government.³ Finally the tribute lists show that there were dynasts within the Empire.⁴ If non-democratic governments survived into the period of the Athenian Empire, it is safe to conclude that they were, if anything, more common in the days of the free League.

The Assembly: — For the general interpretation of the League, the most important single point is the question of the assignment of votes in the assembly. Though the problem has been solved long ago, it needs to be treated anew because too many scholars have failed to notice or accept the solution,⁵ not to speak of the inferences to be

¹ Thuc. I 115. 3; Diod. XII 27. 2; Plut. *Per.* 25. 2.

² [Xen.] *Ath. Pol.* 3. 11. The events connected with this sometimes are dated ca. 450. For recent discussions and references to further literature see Glotz *Histoire grecque* II 157; Tod *Historical Inscriptions* No. 35; De Sanctis *Riv. di filologia* LXV (1937) 301.

³ This is indicated by the incident of the arming of the commoners and their subsequent treason (Thuc. III 27).

⁴ Meritt, Wade-Gery, and McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, p. 446.

⁵ The solution adopted in the present paper is essentially the same as that given by Paul Guiraud ("De la condition des alliés pendant la première confédération athénienne," *Annales de la Faculté des Lettres de Bordeaux* V [1883], 168-225 at p. 170) as early as 1883; a similar interpretation is given also by Busolt (*Griechische Geschichte* III i [1897] 72 f. and *Griechische Staatskunde* II [1926] 1341), who does not quote Guiraud and so probably reached the conclusion independently; Meyer (*Geschichte des Alterthums* III [1900] 495) and Helmut Berve (*Griechische Geschichte* I [1931] 258) refer offhand to the equality of vote but do not cite the evidence; Glotz, (*Histoire grecque* II [1931] 115) and Robert Cohen (*La Grèce et l'hellénisation du monde antique* [Paris, 1934], pp. 173, 183, 185) cite Guiraud; Bury (*History of Greece* 2 329) has an excellent treatment of the question but naturally without citation of sources; a recent good treatment is given by Hampl (*Die griechischen Staatsverträge* 125), though the account — except for the note: "So Busolt-Swoboda 1341, freilich ohne Begründung. In der anderen einschlägigen Literatur wird auf die

drawn from the system adopted. The evidence is confined to two references in the speech of the Mytilenaeans. In one passage the latter refer to themselves (and possibly also the Chians) as *ισόψηφοι* with the Athenians.¹ It is most natural to take this to mean that the

Frage, soweit ich sehe, nicht eingegangen" — is written as if the discovery were new. Hampl's neglect of earlier treatments of the subject at least gives his own study the merit of an independent investigation; his statement concerning Busolt-Swoboda is incorrect, for the sources are cited in a footnote. On the other hand, Beloch (*Griechische Geschichte* II i [1914] 65), E. M. Walker (*CAH* V 41), and De Sanctis (*Storia dei Greci* II 51) have nothing to say concerning representation in the League and Laistner (*A History of the Greek World from 479 to 323 B.C.* [London, 1936], p. 6) states "What system of representation was adopted is unknown," though in a footnote he leans toward equality in voting. This list could be expanded. On the other hand, it is interesting to note that Guiraud, Busolt, and Hampl seem to have reached essentially the same solution independently. This should help to establish that the treatment given in the present paper actually is justified by the sources and is not due merely to wishful thinking.

One surprising statement probably should be mentioned, that of Rostovtzeff (*History of the Ancient World* I [1926 or 2 ed. 1930] 265): "The principles of this alliance were — that each of the allies should take part in the war and be represented at the council of the league in proportion to his military strength." Such a statement by a great historian in a work that does not cite sources is likely to cause trouble and to make even scholars that have studied the question wonder whether the author has some evidence that others have overlooked. I have searched in vain for this. It is true that in Thucydides III 11. 4 *ισόψηφοι*, though commonly taken to mean absolute equality of vote for large and small states, can be understood to mean proportional equality. However, when Pericles indicates that a weakness of the Peloponnesian League is that all members are *ισόψηφοι* (Thuc. I 141. 6), he obviously means absolute equality. This is made even more certain by the following statement: *οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι . . . ψῆφον ἐπήγαγον τοῖς συμμάχοις ἅπασιν ὅσοι παρήσαν ἐξῆς, καὶ μείζονι καὶ ἐλάσσονι πόλει* (Thuc. I 125. 1), which clearly indicates that all cities large or small, had one vote. Essen (*Index Thucydideus*) lists only one other occurrence of *ισόψηφος* in Thucydides (III 79. 3), where it is used to indicate that a subordinate officer did not have equal authority with his superior. Since this does not help to indicate the meaning of the word in the present connection, Thucydides I 141. 6 is the only passage that helps to establish the meaning in III 11. 4 and definitely suggests that the word means absolute equality — one vote per city — and not proportional equality. Even more conclusive for the Delian League is the fact that the *πολυψηφία* (Thuc. III 10. 5) was to the disadvantage of the larger states that might wish to oppose Athens. If these had possessed votes in proportion to their strength, they might have accomplished something, but as it was they could be outvoted by small states under the influence of Athens.

¹ Thuc. III 11. 4; cf. discussion in the last paragraph of the preceding note.

cities in the League had the same vote, that is, one vote each, though it might be possible to argue that the word refers to an equality of representation on the basis of population or contributions to the forces of the League. The latter meaning, however, is refuted by the statement that the great number of votes (*πολυψηφία*) prevented the opponents of Athens from uniting successfully.¹ This can only mean that any unfavorable vote by states strong enough to oppose Athens were counterbalanced by the votes of other states subservient to Athens. If representation had been proportional, the *πολυψηφία* would have been to their advantage. This passage, when rightly understood, makes it clear that all members of the League, and not only those that furnished ships, had a vote. The two passages discussed, particularly when it is remembered that they are not parts of a formal description of the constitution, are conclusive. It is not necessary, as could be done, to refer to the analogy of the early symmachies such as the Peloponnesian and Second Athenian League.

It is extremely important to note that the references to equality in voting imply that there was equality also for the Athenians and that the latter theoretically had no advantage over the other members. In this respect the Delian League differed from the two other symmachies just mentioned. In the Peloponnesian League, Sparta, and in the Second Athenian League, Athens possessed a half share in determining the policies of the league in question. In the Delian League the policy was determined by the assembly with Athens merely voting as one of the members.² This arrangement seems a natural

Cf. also *μέχρι μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου ἡγοῦντο* (10. 4), which, however, refers to general equality rather than specifically to the votes.

¹ Thuc. III 10. 5.

² Hampl (*op. cit.* 119-29) recently has tried to show that the three great symmachies were alike in that the power holding the *hegemonia* voted with the others in the assembly. I have already criticized this interpretation in a review (*Class. Phil.* XXXIV [1939] 375-79), but some points need to be treated a little more fully. Hampl seems to have been misled largely by the supposition that the Delian League was typical, and that the arrangement of votes attested for it must have been used also in the other two symmachies. For the Peloponnesian League he admits that in 432 the Spartan apella made its own decision before the question was submitted to the allies. He bases his argument for a participation by Sparta in the voting of the assembly of the League on the procedure followed when the ambassadors of Acanthus and Apollonia, who appealed against the Chalcidic

result from the manner in which the League was organized. Whatever may have been the intrigues of Athenian commanders, the future members played an important part in its formation, and it was essential from the point of view of the purpose of the League that it should

League in 382, were brought before the Spartans and the allies (Xen. *Hell.* V 2. 11 ff.). The Second Athenian League, in which he believes that a similar system was used, was organized a few years later. Thus, if the evidence is correctly interpreted, the conclusion should rather be that in the earlier days of the Peloponnesian League, Sparta and the assembly of the allies acted separately on questions of League policy, but that by 382, at the latest, this system was replaced by one under which Sparta merely had a vote in the assembly of the League with other members, and that this later system was adopted also by the Second Athenian League. If true, this would be an important contribution to the history of symmachies. It remains to be seen whether the evidence has been correctly interpreted.

It would be most surprising if the organization of the Peloponnesian League was changed to the disadvantage of Sparta at the very time when she ruled her allies with an iron hand and had a tendency to impose upon them treaties of alliance which transformed them into subject allies (*Class. Phil.* XXIX [1934] 9 f.; the date for the treaty with Olynthus should be 379, not 479). A closer examination of the Xenophon passage shows that Hampl's conclusion by no means is necessary. It is true that the envoys addressed a joint meeting of Spartans and allies (V 2. 11-12), and that thus the Spartans may not have made a formal decision in advance, but when the allies were called upon to express themselves, they knew what policy was favored by the Spartans and acted accordingly (2. 20). Nor is there anything to prove that the Spartans voted in the assembly with the allies or that they did not make their own decision separately (cf. the analysis of the incident, Busolt *Staatskunde* 1332 and n. 3). There would be nothing to prevent the Spartan officials from calling a joint meeting for a discussion and then having the question voted upon separately by the Spartans and the allies. It would even be possible that they called for an expression from the allies before action was taken by Sparta somewhat in the manner in which a decree of the *synedrion* of the Second Athenian League sometimes was submitted to the Athenian *ekklesia*.

For the Second Athenian League Hampl bases his argument on the following clause in the oath of the Athenians in the treaty with Corcyra (*SIG*³ 151, reprinted Hampl 126): *περὶ πολέμου καὶ εἰρήνης πράξω καθ' ὅτι ἂν τῷ πλήθει τῶν συμμάχων δοκῇ, καὶ τὰλλα ποιήσω κατὰ [τ]ὰ [δ]όγματα τῶν συμμάχων*. The present discussion will omit any reference to the *δόγματα* — the constitution of the League (note 2 of the review cited) — and confine itself to the rest of the clause. This is a grand example of how misleading a single quotation, even from an official document, may be, for by itself it implies that the Athenians were subject to the control of the assembly without having a voice in its decisions. This Hampl (pp. 128 f.) realizes is impossible, but his own suggestion that they merely had a vote in the assembly is equally impossible, not to mention that there is no evidence in its favor. Such

not appear as an instrument for the development of Athenian power. Later developments were to show that the inconspicuous rôle assigned to Athens in determining the policies of the League did not prevent her aggrandizement. The explanation must be — and this is not new — that Athens, as commander of the armed forces of the League, was able to control the vote of lesser states that she patronized or intimidated, and that the votes of these states, the *πολυψηφία* of Thucydides, made it impossible for her opponents to accomplish anything against her.

If this is correct, it is possible to understand the full force of the statement of Thucydides that the Athenians “at first led allies that were autonomous and deliberated in a common assembly.”¹ This must mean that the assembly determined the policy of the League. It was natural for an organization that was to continue the naval war

an arrangement would have resulted in almost as complete theoretical subordination to the allies as the absence of a vote in decisions on the policies of the League. The solution is suggested in the same document in the terms imposed on the Corcyraeans. The latter, both in the treaty proper and in their oath — in slightly different terms — were pledged to be guided in matters of war and peace by the Athenians and the majority of the allies. It is too much to ask any one to believe that the Athenians were to have some control over the policy of the Corcyraeans but none over their own. Rather, since it would have been absurd for the Athenians to swear allegiance to themselves, that part of the pledge was omitted from their own oath. The result, as Hampl’s argument has shown, is misleading, but for practical purposes all that their oath means is that they promise to take no action which has not been approved by the *syndrion* of the allies. Thus the more usual view, that League policies were to be determined by agreement between Athens and the *syndrion*, is correct. This can be demonstrated by examples. In one case, when the Athenian *ekklesia* acted on a question, it had before it a *dogma* of the allies and a *probouleuma* of the *boule* (SIG³ 181); in another case, the *boule* decided that the allies were to submit a *dogma* to the *demos* (SIG³ 159). In the latter case, the *dogma* apparently was to take the place of a *probouleuma*. Thus, neither in the one case nor the other, has Hampl proved his point, and the participation of the power holding the *hegemonia* in the voting of the assembly of the Delian League remains unique.

¹ I 97. 1: ἡγούμενοι δὲ αὐτονόμων τὸ πρῶτον τῶν συμμάχων καὶ ἀπὸ κοινῶν ξυνόδων βουλευόντων. The last word of the quotation, unless the reader is misled by the usage in other symmachies, can mean only that the policy of the League was determined by the assembly. In ἀπὸ κοινῶν ξυνόδων the plural does not refer to several bodies but to repeated meetings of the assembly, and so in English the meaning probably can be given best by the use of the singular.

against Persia to employ an assembly to direct the war somewhat in the same manner as assemblies and councils of war were used during the Persian War proper. This task, Thucydides tells us, the assembly at first actually performed. This must have made it necessary to hold regular meetings annually. It is clear that the assembly continued to function at least during the first period of action against revolting and recalcitrant states. The complaint of the Mytilenaeans to the effect that, on account of the many votes in the assembly, they were unable to do anything to prevent the enslavement of the allies¹ even implies that the various measures adopted by Athens were approved by the assembly.

This, in turn, means that the assembly must have acted also as a law court whether the constitution actually provided for this or not. Before the assembly authorized action against a city, it must have discussed the merits of the case and found that the city in question was guilty of some such offense as revolt, failure to pay tribute, failure to supply ships, failure to supply troops, or conducting war against another member of the League.² Whether the constitution of the League made any specific provision for this or not, such activity was the natural outgrowth of the deliberative functions of the assembly and of the normal practice in symmachies to leave everything that was not performed by the power holding the *hegemonia* to the assembly of the league.³

The Hegemonia of Athens: — Little need be said on this subject. There is no necessity for reviewing the evidence that proves that Athens held the *hegemonia*. Since at the outset she was not given

¹ Thuc. III 10. 5. The Mytilenaeans also speak of themselves as taking part in the operations while they possessed equality of vote with Athens (II. 4).

² Causes of revolts and pretexts for the reduction of allies by Athens, Thuc. I 99. 1, VI 76. 3.

³ For the importance of assemblies see my "Constitution of the Peloponnesian League"; cf. also "A Note on IG IV², 1, 68" (*Class. Phil.* XXVII [1932] 395-99) for the Hellenic League of Antigonos Monophthalmus and Demetrius Poliorcetes. A different interpretation is given by H. Grant Robertson, *The Administration of Justice in the Athenian Empire* (Toronto, 1924), pp. 25-28. I agree with Robertson (p. 27) that "the commander-in-chief would naturally deal with any cases of misconduct in the field," but see no way to escape the conclusion that the assembly frequently must have passed judgment on offending states.

a preponderant influence in shaping the policies of the League, and since the purpose of the organization was to carry on the naval war, it might seem natural to expect that the *hegemonia* should not be assigned permanently to any one state, but that proviso should be made for its transfer to some other state when circumstances should make this desirable. Any doubt on this subject is dispelled by the story of the exchange of oaths between Athens and the members, which clearly indicates that Athens was given the *hegemonia* definitely and permanently. Thus, other symmachies of the period, though not a safe guide to the relation of Athens to the assembly, probably can be used to suggest the nature of the *hegemonia*. This would indicate that Athens not only commanded in war but also performed all the executive work connected with the League. This seems verified by a passage in Thucydides which attributes to her not only the conduct of war but also the administration of affairs.¹ In any case, at this period in Greek history, it would be natural that the *hegemonia* should include all the executive and administrative work connected with the League. There can be little doubt that this actually was the case since even that most important and delicate task, the assessment of the first tribute, was entrusted to the Athenians and performed by Aristides or a committee under his presidency.² It is almost unthinkable that the assessment was not subject to review by the

¹ I 97. 1, the sentence marking the transition from the account of the founding of the Delian League to that of the Pentecontaeteia; the first part is quoted p. 196, n. 1. It is indicated that an account is to follow of what the Athenians undertook in war and the administration of affairs, in the period between the Persian and Peloponnesian wars against the barbarians, their own allies, and the Peloponnesians. Thus the statement covers more than the period in which the assembly of the League can have guided its policies, but it should be noted that *τοσάδε ἐπὶ ἤλθον πόλεμῳ τε καὶ διαχειρίσει πραγμάτων* follows immediately after the statement concerning the activities of the assembly and thus apparently characterizes the activities that fell to Athens as a result of the deliberation of the assembly.

² The impression left by the later sources is that Aristides personally was selected by the allies, but in view of the emphasis placed on his rôle and his honesty, this means very little. On the other hand, the account of Thucydides (I 96. 1-2) gives the impression that the task belonged to the Athenians in general, but this too is less decisive than it seems, for Thucydides mentions no Athenian statesman by name in this section (I 94-97). In a later reference (V 18. 5) he indicates the connection of Aristides with the assessment.

assembly of the League, but even so it is significant that all the administrative work connected with it was entrusted to the Athenians. Thus there is no reason to doubt that Thucydides is right when he states that the League treasurers, the *Hellenotamiai*, were Athenian from the outset.¹ The inclusive nature of the *hegemonia* indicates that the Athenians probably also presided over the assembly. The importance and theoretical independence of that body would have made it logical to arrange for an independent chairman or board of chairmen, but it is unlikely that this step was taken.

IV. THE PURPOSE OF THE DELIAN LEAGUE

It is unnecessary to prove that the purpose of the League was to carry on the naval war against Persia in the interest of Greek freedom. This is generally recognized by scholars, it is implied in the story of the founding and later transformation of the League, and there are specific statements by Thucydides² on the subject. Under the circumstances it is surprising that it should be founded as a permanent organization. In this respect the Delian League probably was influenced by the example of the Peloponnesian League, which helped to make permanency seem one of the natural features of a symmarchy, and so the members may have taken the oaths to be allies forever without giving much thought to the implications. But this is hardly the entire explanation. Also the example of the Hellenic League must have influenced the Delian League. Just as the larger organization had been made permanent, so also the smaller organization that was to serve as its instrument for the naval war was made permanent.³ This feature may be criticized as the result of short-sighted statesmanship which envisaged the world as static and did not make sufficient allowance for possible future changes, and yet a too severe condemnation may not be justified. In general, mistakes of this kind on the part of constitution makers are none too rare, and it is not surprising if the Greeks of the early fifth century in this respect did not rise above the

¹ Thuc. I 96. 2.

² I 96. 1, III 10. 3, VI 76. 3-4.

³ In an earlier statement (*Class. Phil.* XXVIII [1933] 267) I have attributed the permanency of the Delian League too exclusively to the example of the Peloponnesian League.

normal level. Furthermore, though evidence on this point to my knowledge is lacking both for the Hellenic and Delian leagues, it is not unlikely that they, like other symmachies, made provision for future amendments. At any rate, if such a proviso was not included at the outset, the two leagues, if they had continued to function for any length of time, certainly would have developed a method for passing amendments. This would have been easier in the Delian League than in other symmachies. In these normally an amendment could be adopted by agreement between the power holding the *hegemonia* and the assembly.¹ In the Delian League, with the entire direction of the policy left to the assembly, the latter body should have been able itself to make all the necessary changes without any special consent from Athens.

There was, however, one feature that could not be changed. This was the *hegemonia* of Athens. The exchange of oaths between her and the allies implies that Athens was to retain the *hegemonia* permanently and irrevocably. Thus the one feature of the constitution that was to contribute most to the decline of the League and its transformation into an empire could not be changed. This may seem to indicate that Athens was intended to be the predominant partner from the beginning, but when other features are considered — particularly the direction of the policy of the League by the assembly and the equality of Athens and other members within the assembly — this cannot have been the intention. It must rather have seemed that the authority of the assembly was sufficient so that the permanency of the *hegemonia* did not constitute a danger. On account of the enthusiasm of the moment and the lack of experience in the perversion of symmachies, the founders forgot the danger involved in the large armament of the Athenians, in their permanent control of the forces of the League, and in the fact that the individual Athenians that were to command those forces were likely to prove more loyal to Athens than to the League assembly. The example of Pausanias, whose conduct turned the allies from Sparta to Athens, should have served as a warning. On the con-

¹ For the Peloponnesian League see *Class. Phil.* XXIX (1934) 10-14; for the Hellenic League of Antigonos and Demetrius, *ibid.* XXVII (1932) 395-99. In both places references to treaties containing clauses providing for future changes are given.

trary, it probably served to make them feel safe and to think that whatever the form of the oath, they could get rid of the Athenians equally easily if they should prove a menace. This need not mean that they anticipated breaking their oaths; they probably rather felt that no action would be necessary unless the Athenians were themselves to break the oaths. Of course, it is precisely this that Thucydides, without using the word "oaths," implies that the Athenians did when he speaks about illegal enslavement of cities.¹ But events were to show that the members were unable to take them to task for this illegal conduct.

The problem just discussed is involved in what might be called the negative side of the purpose of the League. It was not the intention that the organization was to be a partnership between Athens and the allies in which the leadership was to be divided between the two partners, and it was not the intention that the League should serve as an instrument for Athenian leadership and the development of Athenian power. At this point the exchange of the oaths causes trouble, for the ceremony seems to imply that very dualism between Athens and the allies that has just been denied.² Against this must be placed the story of the founding of the League, the emphasis on the war against Persia and the freedom of the Greeks in the statements concerning the purposes of the League, and above all the fact that Athens voted in the assembly with the other allies and was not supposed to have any greater share in the direction of the policy of the League than any of the allied states. The only difference between her and other members was that the *hegemonia* was entrusted to her, but, in the light of the other features of the constitution, it must be assumed that the *hegemonia* was not so much considered a privilege as a burden or service.³ It was, as it were, a liturgy that Athens assumed in behalf of the Hellenes.

This nature of the League is implied in the nomenclature applied to the League and its officials. There is first and foremost the title of *Hellenotamiai* applied to the treasurers. It is true that "Hellenes" is

¹ Thuc. I 98. 4.

² Cf. E. M. Walker *CAH* V 40.

³ Is not this implied in the statement that the Spartans considered the Athenians competent to lead (Thuc. I 95. 7)?

used so freely and loosely in various connections that it may seem dangerous to argue from this term. After the treasury had been transferred to Athens it might seem that *Hellenotamiai* was an appropriate name for treasurers that handled funds from other Greek states in opposition to funds of local origin. According to Thucydides,¹ however, the name antedated the transfer of the treasury, and it seems to imply that the officials controlled an Hellenic or Panhellenic treasury. In the sense that the treasury was that of the sole agent of the Hellenic League for the naval war against Persia, it was a Panhellenic treasury and the name was appropriate. It seems, furthermore, that the members of the League were referred to as "the Hellenes." This name, undoubtedly, belonged primarily to the Hellenic League but was applied also to the members of the naval league by a fiction similar to the one by which the members of an Athenian jury were addressed as though they were the entire citizen body.² When the Spartans in 432 offered to maintain peace if the Athenians would restore the autonomy of the Hellenes³ the expression need not be technical but may refer in a general way to interference with Hellenic freedom, but there can be no doubt concerning the meaning when the Mytilenaeans in their appeal to the Peloponnesian League state that they have been guilty of a double revolt, from the Athenians and from the Hellenes.⁴ Here "the Hellenes" obviously refer to the members of the Delian League, and it is unthinkable that this name should be employed unless the League had a special claim to it. Otherwise the Mytilenaeans would be in the position of representing their own action as unnecessarily odious. As it was, however, they belonged to the little remnant of the genuine Delian League, the small group of states that had not been subjected by Athens. Hence they were bound by their original pledges, and their revolt was a revolt against the Hellenes of the Delian League and of the larger Hellenic League. This partial

¹ I 96. 2.

² The reference is to the mode of address, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι. Cf. Otto Schulthess, *Das attische Volksgericht* (Bern, 1921), p. 19; Robert J. Bonner and Gertrude Smith, *The Administration of Justice from Homer to Aristotle*, I (Chicago, 1930), p. 226.

³ Thuc. I 139. 3; cf. the same expression in the speech of Pericles (I 40. 3).

⁴ Thuc. III 13. 1; cf. the commentary of Classen-Steup on III 10. 3.

survival of the old order suggests that when Sparta, as already mentioned, posed as the defender of the freedom of the Hellenes, she was not defending freedom in the abstract but the freedom guaranteed to the members of the Delian League. In other words, she was proposing the restoration of the old order of things as represented by the Hellenic and Delian leagues.

Also the ideal of the Hellenic peace must have been included in the general plan of the Hellenic League. The prohibition of war between members of the Delian League makes it very likely that a similar prohibition was included in the plan of the larger organization. It is even possible that this prohibition belonged to the Hellenic League and was applied in the Delian League as a part of this larger organization. Whether the specific clause to this effect belonged to the larger or the smaller organization, it is clear that the Hellenic League was built on the general plan of peace and alliance between all Greeks, or at least all good Greeks of the mainland, the Aegean islands, and the coast of Asia Minor, with war confined to war against non-Greeks, specifically Persia, and such Greeks as had been disloyal to the national cause. It might be objected that this ideal does not find an expression in theory before a later date. To this the reply can be made that expression in theory normally follows the appearance of an ideal in practical statesmanship. It can also be said that Greek literature at an early date contains many expressions of a feeling for the blessings of peace and the horrors of war.¹ The ideal of inter-state peace certainly is present in the statement of Hesiod that peace dwells in the land of those that give straight judgments and that Zeus does not bring war upon them.² More important, a practical effort to ameliorate Greek inter-state relations, if not to establish complete peace, is represented by the famous Amphictionic oath forbidding the destruction of cities within the League or the cutting off of their water supply.³ By

¹ Wallace E. Caldwell, *Hellenic Conceptions of Peace* ("Studies in History, Economics and Public Law Edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University," Vol. LXXXIV, No. 2), New York, 1919; Wilhelm Nestle, *Der Friedensgedanke in der antiken Welt* (*Philologus*, Supplementband XXXI, Heft 1), Leipzig, 1938.

² Hes. *Op.* 225-29; cf. Caldwell *op. cit.* 36 f.

³ Aeschines II 115.

the time of the Persian War such efforts probably had begun to seem Utopian but they were given a new lease on life through the actual coöperation in the war.

V. THE IDEALS OF THE HELLENIC AND DELIAN LEAGUES IN PRACTICE

It remains to be seen whether the history of the fifth century indicates that the purpose attributed to the Hellenic and Delian leagues exerted any influence. It will be seen that the foreign policy of Aristides and Cimon in the main was true to these principles, but first it will be necessary to consider evidence that indicates that the Hellenic League actually continued in existence for some time after Plataea.

That this was the case is clear from the narrative of Thucydides. After he has referred to the Spartan leadership in the Persian War and the common action of Sparta and Athens in that war, he states that those Hellenes that had revolted from the king and those that had taken part in the Persian War were divided under the leadership respectively of the Athenians and the Spartans. Thereafter the alliance lasted a short time, and then later the two parties quarreled and went to war with each other.¹ This can only mean that the Hellenic League continued to exist, or at least that the alliance on which it was based remained unbroken, for some time after Greece had been divided into two camps. This is further confirmed by the statement that after Cimon had been dismissed from Ithome the Athenians abandoned the alliance that had been made against the Mede.² The language used implies not that the Hellenic League was formally dissolved or hardly even that Athens renounced her membership — that would have amounted to declaring herself an outlaw — but that she ceased to observe her duties as a member of the League. That the Hellenic League was not formally dissolved is indicated further by the manner in which Plataeans, Thebans, and Spartans during the Peloponnesian War appealed to the rules ratified at Plataea in 479 as still valid.³ Of special interest is the statement of the Thebans that if the Plataeans had been unwilling at any time to follow the Athenians, they could have avoided it in reliance on their alliance

¹ I 18. 2-3.

² Thuc. I 102. 4 ἀφέντες τὴν γενομένην ἐπὶ τῷ Μήδῳ συμμαχίαν.

³ Thuc. II 71, III 59. 2, 63-64, 68. 1.

with the Spartans, which had been in existence at the time of the Persian War.¹ There is no question here of the continued validity of the alliance; the emphasis is entirely upon its early origin. There can be no doubt but that the alliance in question was due to the common membership in the Hellenic League; on account of the close connection between Athens and Plataea, a special treaty of alliance between Sparta and Plataea, or membership of Plataea in the Peloponnesian League, is out of the question.

With this general outline established, it is possible to see a number of other references to the Hellenic League. When Themistocles argued that it was to the advantage of all of the allies that Athens was walled, he undoubtedly had the Hellenic League in mind. The further statement that without equal armament it was impossible to contribute equally to the counsels of the *koinon* (or to the counsels concerning the common interest)² presupposes that the Hellenic League was to function as a deliberative body. The Athenian and other allies that were summoned by the Spartans at the time of the Helot revolt,³ except, of course, those that were members of the Peloponnesian League, must have been summoned in virtue of their membership in the Hellenic League. Among those that followed the summons were the Plataeans, who sent a third of their levy.⁴ Their presence before Ithome makes the dismissal of the Athenians particularly piquant, if the statement that of the allies only the Athenians were dismissed⁵ is to be taken literally. The evidence for the continued importance of the Hellenic League suggests that the report that the Spartans demanded that

¹ Thuc. III 63. 2: τῆς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τῶνδε ἥδη ἐπὶ τῷ Μήδῳ ξυμμαχίας γεγενημένης.

² Thuc. I 91. 6-7.

³ Thuc. I 102. 1.

⁴ Thuc. III 54. 5.

⁵ Thuc. I 102. 3. Though the Plataeans doubtless were summoned and came to Ithome as members of the Hellenic League, it is natural to believe that they were guided by the example of Athens and answered the summons only because the Athenians did. Under the circumstances, if the Athenians were dismissed and the Plataeans retained, this would amount to a suggestion to the Plataeans that they break with Athens. The justification would have to be that their obligations to the Hellenic League took precedence over the obligations imposed by the special treaty with Athens.

Themistocles be tried before the *synedrion* of the Hellenes¹ may after all be correct. The fact that Themistocles was condemned at Athens as the result of an *eisangelia*² need not mean that the Spartan proposal is unhistorical but merely that the Athenians took the case into their own hands instead of leaving it to the decision of the Panhellenic tribunal, or it may even be possible that the Athenian trial was preliminary to the submission of the case to this tribunal. Considering the state of the evidence, the matter must remain uncertain, but the story cannot be ruled out on the grounds that it is absurd and impossible.

The evidence presented so far makes it possible to determine more definitely the nature of the policy of Athens during the period. There can be no doubt that the policy of carrying on war against Persia and maintaining and strengthening the Delian League while remaining, at least formally, on friendly terms with Sparta was represented as the continuation of the Panhellenic plan adopted at Plataea in 479. It is common to regard Themistocles as the real father of the Delian League on the ground that it was his development of the Athenian navy that made the League possible. In this sense, the judgment is correct, and after the Hellenic League had been reorganized, Themistocles was able to use it for defending the rebuilding of the walls of Athens. Yet there can be little doubt that the real Athenian proponent of the Panhellenic policy was Aristides, who took a leading part both in the reorganization of the Hellenic League and in the formation of the Delian League. The heir to this policy was Cimon, who seems to have been sufficiently devoted to it to insist on sending aid to Sparta against the Helots in the face of strong opposition and thus to endanger his political future. He certainly must have been aware of the opposition of the Athenian leaders that favored a break with Sparta, and he cannot have been naive enough to believe that all Spartans were wholeheartedly devoted to their Athenian brethren, but he must have

¹ Diod. XI 55. 4. Plutarch (*Them.* 23. 6) and *Epist. Them.* 18 (Hercher *Epistolographi graeci* p. 757) state that the Athenians wished to bring him to trial before the Hellenes or the common court of the Hellenes.

² There can be little or no doubt about the truth of the report, which is derived from the collection of documents of Craterus (frag. 5, *FHG* II 619; later edition, *Lexicon rhetoricum Cantabrigiense*, s.v. *εισαγγελία*).

felt that the one hope for his Panhellenic policy was for its advocates at Athens and Sparta to continue coöperation. Thus the dismissal of Cimon from Ithome was the turning point of the history of the century and marked the practical failure of the ideals of 479. However, since the Hellenic League had not been dissolved formally, it was still possible to argue for the applications of its principles, and this in part explains the policy of Thucydides, the son of Melesias. Also the proposed Panhellenic congress of Pericles must have been based on a transformation in Athenian interests of the plan of the Hellenic League.

Though the Panhellenic policy of Cimon was based on the Hellenic League, it did not prevent him from contributing his share to the strengthening of Athens through the strengthening of her leadership in the Delian League. No one who has observed the coöperation of states in leagues and alliances, ancient or modern, would expect to find a practical statesman so completely devoted to the larger whole that he was entirely without particularistic interests, least of all would one look for that in states with the intense local patriotism of Greek city-states. Thucydides definitely dates the beginning of the illegal subjection of members of the Delian League from the reduction of Naxos, which, whatever the exact date, clearly belongs to the period of the leadership of Cimon.¹ Yet, though Thucydides considers the treatment of Naxos and other revolting cities a violation of the constitution of the Delian League, yet, as has been noted above, the action was taken with the formal approval of the assembly of the League. Thus the Athenians could argue that their action was legal. Others might not agree, but as long as the assembly of the Delian League did not oppose their action, there was no other authority that could do so except the Hellenic League. When the political situation in Greece is considered, it is clear that the leadership in any such action would have to be taken by Sparta. This situation is reflected in the statement of the Thebans, already referred to, that if the Plataeans had been unwilling to follow Athenian leadership they could have relied upon their alliance with Sparta. It is also reflected in a statement attributed to the Corinthians that the Spartans were

¹ Thucydides (I 98 ff.) places it before Eurymedon.

responsible not only for the growth of Athenian power but also for the loss of freedom of the Athenian subjects,¹ and in the appeals to Sparta both from Thasos and Mytilene.² Obviously, however, Sparta could not have secured a Panhellenic condemnation of Athens without the collapse of the entire system of 479 and probably not without bringing on an immediate war. Probably, too, it would have been just as impossible to secure a formal condemnation of Athens in the Hellenic League as it was to secure effective opposition to her in the assembly of the Delian League.

This situation contributes not a little to the understanding of Sparta's policy at the time. It appears that the rôle of defender of Greek freedom, which she assumed during the Peloponnesian War, was not a new rôle but one to which she had laid claim earlier in the fifth century.³ This would be natural enough. The Peloponnesian League was based on the principle of the freedom of its members, and in the fifth century there appears to have been less violation of this principle in the Peloponnesian than in the Delian League. Furthermore, the Hellenic League was founded on the same principle, and when Athens began to interfere with the freedom of the members of the Delian League, it would have been most surprising if Sparta had not called attention to her own superior virtue and even hinted that states whose freedom was endangered could look to her for protection. Hence the appeals to Sparta from various cities and hence too, probably, the secret promise to support Thasos.⁴

Yet, though it was simple enough to proclaim herself the defender

¹ Thuc. I 69. 1.

² The appeal from Thasos came in the period before the break between Athens and Sparta (Thuc. I 101. 1). The earlier appeal from Mytilene cannot be dated, for the Mytilenaeans are merely represented as saying in 428 that they had appealed long ago while there still was peace (Thuc. III 13. 1).

³ The Corinthians imply that the guilt of Sparta in failing to check Athenian excesses was particularly great for the reason that she had the reputation of being the liberator of Greece (Thuc. I 69. 1). The Thebans, when criticizing the Plataeans for not refusing to follow Athens in reliance on Sparta and so for sharing in the guilt of enslaving Greeks, refer to the Athenians as enslavers and the Spartans as liberators of Greece (Thuc. III 63. 3). At least the latter statement would be pointless unless Sparta throughout the period had posed as a defender of Greek freedom.

⁴ Thuc. I 101. 2.

of Greek freedom, it was not so simple to put this theory into practice. When Sparta's chief rival — soon to prove her chief enemy — was guilty of violating the freedom of Greeks, it must have seemed expedient for Sparta to pose as the defender of this freedom. But it was not expedient to interfere in every case in which she or other Greeks considered an act of Athens unjust. Not to speak of the fact that conditions in the Peloponnesus may often have made intervention impossible, it is clear that intervention was likely to lead to an open break and cause the collapse of the entire system of the Hellenic League. In other words, Spartan intervention would have undermined the very cause that it was intended to preserve. Hence the question must have arisen often whether the time had come to step in against Athens or whether it was better to overlook some irregularity in the hope that Hellenic peace and coöperation might be saved. It must be admitted that Sparta overlooked a great deal. She took direct action neither at the time of the rebuilding of the walls of Athens nor at the time of her acquisition of the *hegemonia* of the Delian League, and she overlooked what Thucydides considered the illegal enslavement of cities belonging to the Delian League. To be sure, the building of the walls of Athens could not have been stopped without war and would immediately have put Sparta in the position of a state oppressing the Greeks, and, unless Sparta had been able to continue active leadership of the naval war, the recognition of the Athenian *hegemonia* was the only means by which the entire plan of the Hellenic League could be put into practice. On the other hand, the subjection of allies within the Delian League was endangering and violating that very plan. Yet as long as the leadership in Athens was in the hands of Cimon, who was anxious to retain Spartan friendship, it must have seemed better to many to overlook irregularities. At the time of the revolt of Thasos, Sparta apparently had decided to act, but the revolt of the Helots prevented her and gave the Hellenic League one more chance to retain real vitality. This was thrown away when Cimon was dismissed from Ithome, and when the break once had been made, the old conditions could never be restored. The Thirty Years' Peace superficially seems like a return to the old plan, but this appearance is deceptive; Athens was given a free hand with her allies, and thus the principle of freedom was abandoned and a dualism of Sparta and the

Peloponnesian League on the one hand and Athens and her empire on the other hand replaced the old unity of the Hellenic League.¹

The blame for the failure of the Hellenic League must be divided between Athens and Sparta, but probably the larger part must be assigned to Sparta, even though the Athenian suppression of the members of the Delian League was the first large scale violation of its principles and a challenge and provocation to Sparta. If Themistocles, as many historians believe,² during the period of his ostracism, took an active part in the anti-Spartan movement in the Peloponnesus, he personally must shoulder considerable responsibility. The same appears true of the one great Spartan statesman who fought against the established order, namely Pausanias. However, it must be admitted

¹ Though the reduction of Euboea preceded the treaty of peace, the terms of the peace probably already were agreed upon in the truce arranged with Pleistoanax (Thuc. I 114). At any rate, no exception was taken in the treaty to this action and so the reduction of Euboea can be said to be in accordance with the Thirty Years' Peace. The rule that the heads of the two symmachies were to have a free hand with their allies is implied in the clause that states that belonged to neither organization were free to join the one that they wished (Thuc. I 35. 1-2, 40. 2). This clause, incidentally, illustrates the dualism created by the treaty and amounts to an invitation to all states that had not already done so to align themselves with one or the other of the two great powers. More direct evidence is furnished by the Athenian complaint that the Peloponnesians, in the case of Potidaea, had stirred up rebellion in one of her allied cities (Thuc. I 66). In all likelihood also the argument used by the Corinthians against Peloponnesian support for the revolting Samians, namely, that each party should be permitted to punish her own allies (Thuc. I 40. 5), was based on the Thirty Years' Peace. It is unlikely that the treaty went so far as to renounce autonomy formally, but the failure to do anything about the Athenian subjection of her allies practically amounted to the abandoning of the clause. This is recognized in the statement attributed to Pericles in 432, when in reply to the Spartan demand for autonomy of the Greeks, he said that Athens was willing to leave those cities autonomous that were so at the time the treaty (the Thirty Years' Peace) was ratified (Thuc. I 144. 2). The further qualification that this would be done when the Spartans themselves allowed their cities to be autonomous in the manner they themselves wished and not as Sparta dictated, amounts to an accusation that Sparta also had violated the principle. Yet the very fact that Sparta could pose as the defender of freedom makes it likely that the principle of freedom for all Greek states had not been renounced formally.

² Busolt, *Griechische Geschichte* III 112-13; Meyer, *Geschichte des Alterthums* III 517; Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte* ² II 1 146; E. M. Walker, *CAH* V 62 f.; Glotz, *Histoire grecque* II 124. Cf. De Sanctis, *Storia dei Greci* II 52-54.

that the Hellenic League by no means was perfect. While it proclaimed the freedom of the Greeks, it is obvious that it did nothing to secure this freedom for perioeci and helots, and probably no more to check the abuse of Spartan power in the Peloponnesus. This would furnish a good excuse for anti-Spartan movements and also for Athenian efforts of aggrandizement. If they did nothing more than make perioeci of members of the Delian League,¹ the Athenians could argue that they were no worse than — or hardly even as bad as — the Spartans. Yet there was the difference that the abuses connected with the Spartan system were pre-existing abuses, which it had been tacitly agreed to accept; the Athenian abuses injected something new into the situation. The blame for these cannot be placed exclusively on anti-Spartan democratic Athenian statesmen but some of it must be placed also on Cimon and his supporters, who began the subjection of members of the Delian League and thus the transformation of this organization from an instrument for Panhellenic naval warfare into an instrument for Athenian aggrandizement. Through this process, even without a formal break, something like the dualism recognized by the Thirty Years' Peace would have come into being, but even so the preservation of the system might well have given the Greeks as reasonably satisfactory a form of peace, order, and coöperation as they could hope to attain. The Spartans, by their dismissal of the Athenians from Ithome, brought on a break at a moment that was at the same time very hopeful and very critical. It was critical because a failure of Cimon's policy at this moment was sure to bring the anti-Spartan leaders into power at Athens and thus mean the abandonment of the policy of coöperation. It was hopeful because the two most disturbing leaders, Themistocles and Pausanias, were out of the way, and there was a chance that Cimon, if given proper support, could retain the leadership of Athens over against Ephialtes and Pericles. At the same time, Cimon, who undoubtedly was aware not only of the existence of a strong anti-Spartan party at Athens but also of a strong anti-Athenian party at Sparta, had shown a genuine desire to coöperate. If his friendship for Sparta had been false and merely based on

¹ In the treaty between Athens, Argos, Mantinea and Elis the allies of Athens practically are put on the same level as the perioeci of Peloponnesian states (Thuc. V 47. 1; cf. discussion P.-W. XIX 824).

expediency, now was the time to strike at Sparta when she was in trouble and at the same time to ruin his political opponents by making their policy his own. It is true that it was not unnatural that there should be considerable suspicion of Athens at Sparta. Yet, if the cooler heads had retained control, as they did at the time of the foundation of the Delian League, and if the policy of coöperation had proved successful at a time when the safety of one of the two leading states was endangered, this would have strengthened immensely the hands of the proponents of the policy in both states and given it an opportunity to prove successful for a longer period.

What judgment is to be passed on the entire plan embodied in the Hellenic League of 479 and the Delian League? In the first place it must be admitted that a unity attained through understanding would be better than a unity based on force and the elimination of all opposition by a single strong state. In the second place, all efforts to secure unity in this second manner were failures. When Cimon's opponents and successors in power attempted to fight Persia and Greeks at the same time, the effort proved too much. In opposition to this policy, the policy of Cimon at least had the advantage that it did not overtax Athenian resources. If it really was the aim of Pericles to make Athens the mistress of all Greece, can it be seriously maintained that success for this policy would have proved better for Greece than the success of the policy of Cimon? Naturally it is difficult to say just what would have been the results of the latter policy. Probably the treasury of the Delian League would never have been moved to Athens, and probably the last steps in the transformation of the League into an empire would never have been taken. On the other hand, it is likely that the importance of the fleet nevertheless would have led to the further development of democracy at Athens, and that Athens would have contributed about the same to the development of local political institutions as she did. Yet, we might never have had the Parthenon, but was even the Parthenon worth the price in blood and hostility that was paid for it? In general, though there might have been differences in detail, the development of Greek art and literature was so well on the way that it would be foolish to say that the preëminence of Greek culture would have been impossible without the political success of Pericles. As for later efforts, when unity seemed

attained through the Spartan victory in the Peloponnesian War, this had been bought at the price of accepting Persian help and was soon to prove completely elusive. Nothing further need be said about the continual rivalries of the fourth century in which the one ray of hope was the dream of a *koine eirene*, a dream, however, with much less hope of success than the plan of 479. This plan, in comparison with all other plans for peace and unity, had the advantage that it came naturally. It came at a time when coöperation, in spite of all jealousies and rival plans, was a reality, and when the national war against Persia, the basis for the formation of the Delian League, was a live issue and not an artificial issue, as it was in the days of Philip II. Tarn has said: "The Panhellenic League of Corinth, formed by Philip II, . . . afforded the only chance ever offered of the realization of that old dream, the unification of the Greek world, if Greeks would have so regarded it."¹ Would it not be more true to say that the Hellenic League of 479 afforded the best chance ever offered for the unification of the Greek world if the Greeks would have so regarded it?

¹ *Hellenistic Civilization* ² 64 f.

ALCIBIADES AND τὸ φιλόπολι

BY NATHAN MARSH PUSEY

THE purpose of this paper is to quarrel, as amiably as possible, with the belief that the ancient Greeks of the classical period were bound to their city-states by a passionate patriotic attachment, such an attachment as is depicted, for example, in the following moving passage by A. E. Zimmern: "Greek patriotism fused the emotions of school and family, of inheritance and early training, of religion and politics — all the best of boyhood with all the best of manhood — into one passionate whole. His (i.e. the Greek citizen's) city was the only city, and her ways the only ways."¹ It is obvious upon the slightest reflection that were this true, such a conspicuous feature of Greek life as the long procession of philo-Laonians at Athens, among other things, could not be explained. Many would therefore be ready to characterize the statement as extreme, but few, if any, have felt themselves called upon to challenge its essential correctness, with the result that the notion that the Greeks were great patriots has gained a very wide currency. There are almost no books on Greek life in which one does not meet it. In the following paragraphs the subject of Greek city-state patriotism is considered in connection with an interesting and at first glance startling statement attributed to Alcibiades by Thucydides, and an attempt is made to demonstrate the falsity of the popular view that has been so easily accepted and so often repeated.

First, for the statement of Alcibiades. When the *Salamina* came to Catana to notify him and his companions to return to Athens to stand trial in connection with the affair of the Herms, like others of their fellow citizens before and after them who had fallen into popular disfavor, they preferred flight to the justice of the *demos*. They followed the official boat as far as Thurii, but there they deserted, later to cross over to Elis, and ultimately to make their way to Sparta under safe-conduct (Thuc. VI 61. 4-7). Some time later Alcibiades undertook to advise the Spartans (most ably, as the event was to prove) how best to aid the Syracusans and injure the Athenians. It is a part

¹ A. E. Zimmern, *The Greek Commonwealth*, Oxford, 1924, p. 67.

of the speech he is reported to have made in this effort that is of special interest here, a part near the close of it where he offered an explanation of his conduct in seeking at the expense of his native Athens to aid a city against which he had been doing his utmost to foment trouble only a short time before. Here he said, first, that his suggestions ought not to be set aside simply as the angry remarks of an embittered exile, and then — the passage with which we are to be especially concerned — this: “τό τε φιλόπολι οὐκ ἐν ᾧ ἀδικοῦμαι ἔχω, ἀλλ’ ἐν ᾧ ἀσφαλῶς ἐπολιτεύθην. οὐδ’ ἐπὶ πατρίδα οὔσαν ἔτι ἡγοῦμαι νῦν ἰέναι, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον τὴν οὐκ οὔσαν ἀνακτᾶσθαι” (Thuc. VI 92. 4).

The question is, what interpretation is to be put upon this singularly heterodox idea of patriotism? The modern concept is admittedly a very indefinite one made up of inconstant and various elements, but it seems always to carry at least the idea of an attachment to a political community that is somewhat more firmly established than the kind of loyalty here professed for Athens by Alcibiades.¹ It is possible to argue, as has often been done, that his remarks are quite in accord with the sophistry and lack of moral integrity commonly attributed to him. And for those of Zimmern’s persuasion such an explanation will be perfectly adequate. If the Greeks were the warm-hearted patriots he would make of them, it is only too clear that Alcibiades was intended by Thucydides to appear in this passage to be playing fast and loose with the expression “τὸ φιλόπολι.” Plato’s *Crito*, various lines from the dramatic poets, passages from Demosthenes, considerable epideictic literature — perhaps other bits — can be brought forward in support of the view. But because of the now widely recognized fact that Greek practice and Greek idealism were frequently sadly out of joint, the finality of this evidence may not unreasonably be questioned. It is often said that the Greeks were great patriots,

¹ See the article on “Patriotism” by F. W. Coker in the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. 12, pp. 26–29, where, incidentally, the statement that the Greeks were great patriots is given wider currency. Among the constituent elements in patriotism are attachment to the soil of one’s country and to its peculiar ways of life, the feeling of sharing in a nation’s past, particularly in its successful wars and the glory of its military heroes, and of having a part in its historical mission. But most fundamental of all is the notion that one “belongs to” his particular political state. It is this idea especially that is here shown to have played small part in the Greek conception τὸ φιλόπολι.

but did the kind of patriotism produced by modern nationalism — the kind, that is, that has given us the meaning we attach to the word — in fact play an important role in ancient Greek political life? Might not Alcibiades' words have appeared to his original audience less sophisticated than sensible?

It will be necessary to reach a clear understanding of the reasons for challenging the orthodox view of these matters by a somewhat devious route. Leaving out of consideration for the moment whatever a Greek's feeling for his city may have been, it is immediately obvious that the *polis* was not the only association making demands upon his allegiance. For patriotism is only one, and a late kind of ethnocentrism, that "view of things in which one's own group is the center of everything, and all others are scaled and rated in reference to it."¹ Nor is it necessarily the strongest in any given society, even in a highly developed one. As a matter of history, long before a Greek became a citizen he had been a member of various lesser associations — of an *oikos*,² of a *genos* or a religious group of somewhat similar character (*orgeones*), of a *phratría*,³ and of one of the old Ionic *phylai*. Membership in groups of this kind was once prized above citizenship, and

¹ W. G. Sumner, *Folkways*, Boston, 1907, p. 13.

² A little further on it is to be argued that the attitude of the members of all the groups enumerated here was more or less ethnocentric. Readers of the Attic Orators might reasonably object that as far as the family is concerned, an Athenian's interest in it was not uncommonly confined to the family property. But it would be wrong to conclude from this special evidence that loyalty to family was not a vital force in Greek society. Sophocles' *Antigone*, Lysias' speech *Against Eratosthenes*, the ridicule heaped upon philosophical proposals to abandon the family (Aristophanes' *Ecclesiazusae*), the genuine concern, fostered though it undoubtedly was by fear, that a family should not die out, the fact that jurors were disposed to vote for relations instead of for wills (Aristotle *Problems* 29. 3) — such bits of evidence in addition to the facts that families normally lived in one place, enjoyed the most intimate sense of kinship, and were bound by many ties of law, cult, and common interest, can leave no doubt that the Greek family was definitely a "we-group." And what was true of the "small family" was no less true, *mutatis mutandis*, of the *genos*.

³ That ethnocentrism early characterized *phrateres*, their name alone would prove. Nor can it be doubted that the phratries continued to play an important role at Athens and to win allegiance from their members despite the severe blow dealt their attractive exclusiveness by Cleisthenes. Their special cults, feasts, and celebrations, and above all, their concern with the rites of birth and marriage, and their jealous

though their importance had diminished somewhat in proportion as the *polis* developed, they had survived into Alcibiades' time, and continued in varying degrees to influence the lives of their members. And beside the ancient kin groups there had arisen new political ones within the *polis*, the demes and tribes of Cleisthenes. These had their own corporate existences and came in time to win emotional attachment from their members.¹

All of these groups — and it should perhaps be mentioned that the list is not intended to be exhaustive — may be thought of in the fifth century as competing in some degree among themselves and with the *polis* for the allegiance of the citizens, somewhat as home-towns and states, schools and colleges, and many other such compete with each other and with the national government in the United States today. The relative strength of the hold of this or that kind of group varied at different times, and at any given moment must have showed wide variations with different people, with the urbanites and the rural dwellers, for example, or the aristocrats and the poor, or the educated and the superstitious, and also with different types of individuals.

guardianship of membership, must certainly have had the psychological effect of producing a group feeling.

¹ The geographical separation of the major constituent elements in the tribe undoubtedly worked against the development of a strong sense of tribal allegiance in *phyletai*, but there were contrary factors more than capable of offsetting this handicap. The corporate organization itself, the special assemblies, sanctuaries, feasts, and festivals, and the omnipresent role of the tribe in national administration were undoubtedly effective; and the *hestiasis*, the inter-tribal literary, gymnastic, and military contests at important state festivals, and the existence of tribal divisions in the army and navy supplemented them in decisive fashion. The demes were especially well adapted among the associations mentioned above to foster ethnocentrism, principally because *demotai* naturally tended to live in the same small village or township — at least down to the period of the Peloponnesian War, when the first marked movement of the citizen population to the city occurred. Nothing draws people closer together than a common love for a small place. As M. Davy has said, "community of local life is a source of habits which become necessarily accepted and deeply rooted until they create instincts of sociability and solidarity in coöperation," (Moret & Davy, *From Tribe to Empire*, N. Y., 1926, p. 55). And in these instances such a mutual *φιλοχωρία* was powerfully reinforced by a corporate organization, common cults, feasts, and so on. Under such circumstances it was almost inevitable that *demotai* should come even to exhibit common characteristics. See further, B. Haussoulier, *La vie municipale en Attique*, Paris, 1884, especially p. 196 ff.

And there were other groups of a different kind that are still to be taken into consideration. These were founded not on blood relationships but on friendship, the strongest emotional attachment a Greek knew anything about, and membership in them, instead of being an accident of birth, was largely on a voluntary basis. It is not meant, of course, that friendship played no role among *demotai*, *phrateres*, or the others of this kind, but simply that there it was not an essential part of their group life, whereas in these, if not the sole, it was at least the chief reason for the group's existence. About *ἐρανισταί* we are not very well informed. Formally organized groups of this type were probably neither very common nor very enduring in the fifth century — certainly not to the extent they were to be in the Hellenistic, and especially the Roman worlds. But the *ἐταιρεῖαι* are of the greatest importance. Their members were held together in a voluntary association by friendship, congeniality, and, as a rule, by similarity of age and social status,¹ and the loyalty they could elicit was of a remarkable and unrivalled intensity, as is clearly indicated by the fact that few things were more severely censured in antiquity than betrayal of one's fellow club members.²

Now an Athenian's, or other Greek's, sense of *belonging to* his city — perhaps the most essential element in modern patriotism, if "city" be changed to "country" — cannot have been wholly unconnected with his membership in these lesser associations. But those who insist upon using the word "patriotism," with its overtones for modern nationalism, to describe the Greek's attachment to his city will of necessity maintain that what he felt in this regard was not simply the sum total of these lesser loyalties, but a new and larger loyalty to a more comprehensive group that gathered all the others into itself. It is now necessary to inquire if this was indeed the case.

Ethnocentrism, while it tends to draw the members of a particular group closer together, at the same time must operate as a divisive

¹ G. M. Calhoun, *Athenian Clubs*, Austin, 1913, pp. 27-29.

² Plato likens such an act in private life to betrayal of the state in public life, and groups them both with temple robbery and theft (*Republic* 443A); and Andocides' studied effort to avoid the charge in his *On the Mysteries* and *On His Return* is an eloquent indication of the same thing. Additional examples can be found in Calhoun *op. cit.* 39.

force as far as the group's relations with similar groups are concerned. Thus the closer *demotai* were drawn together, the more sharply was their deme separated from other demes. But this particular divisive force would not necessarily have been operative in regard to larger or essentially different associations; that is, there was nothing incompatible between loyalty to a deme and loyalty to a tribe, to a family, or even to a state. It is only that the more groups of different kinds, that is non-competing groups, a man must be loyal to, the less exclusively, and perhaps, therefore, the less intensely can he be loyal to any particular one. But there are associations loyalty to which automatically excludes the possibility of loyalty to certain others. Thus, for example, it would take a very ingenious wit to show how a thorough-going Marxist could at the same time be a good patriot, but such is man's cleverness in these matters that even this has probably been done.¹ Among the associations enumerated above, the clubs seem at least to have approached this later status, for it is quite clear that if not always, nor necessarily, still they could at times exact an allegiance from their members that was quite incompatible with loyalty to the state.

This was especially so at Athens on those infrequent but important occasions when the clubs, normally quite independent of each other, overcame their separateness to act together for a common purpose, as for example in 411 and 404. These instances serve to bring into prominent relief for us the two major divisions which we have not yet mentioned within the citizen population of Athens, and other Greek cities as well, in the late fifth century, in the face of which patriotism was given no chance to develop. For on both occasions, it may be supposed, it was not only the club members who acted in concert, but to them were joined all the non-club members — if indeed there were such — who were of oligarchical standing.² Opposed to their faction were the democrats, like the others held together by a bond of common

¹ Interesting in this connection is the fashion in which recent political theorists have argued that intense national patriotism is reconcilable with internationalism. See, for example, B. Bosanquet, "Patriotism in the Perfect State" in *The International Crisis*, Oxford, 1915.

² This is indicated by the fact that by 411 *ἐραῖρος* had come to mean "oligarch" (Calhoun *op. cit.* 7-8).

interest so strong that in this instance loyalty to the group could take precedence over all other loyalties — could, in fact, in moments of high political tension drive other loyalties completely out of mind. In an unforgettable section of his great history Thucydides states expressly that this was so (Thuc. III 82 ff.). Details of his vivid description need not be repeated here, for they are widely known. But it is the passionate attachment to political faction that he portrays and tells us was characteristic of the whole Greek world of his time that must always constitute the chief stumbling-block in the path of those arguing for the transcendental power of Greek city-state patriotism. And it is quite unpardonable that those who were familiar with his pages should ever innocently have accepted the view that the Greeks were great patriots.

In the history of modern democracy it has been abundantly shown that intense party loyalty can be compatible with true patriotism; that at the first real threat of danger from outside, civil disputes can not uncommonly be expected to lose themselves in a strong group feeling. "La patrie," "America," and other such expressions have often stood for definite realities, and some, at any rate, of them may well continue to do so for some time. But it does not appear from Thucydides' history that such reconciliation of faction was common in ancient Greece. Certainly party allegiance did not give way to patriotism at Corcyra, nor did it normally at Athens or elsewhere in the Greek world. For all our evidence goes to show that there were few ancient Greeks who would have disputed the opinion of Brasidas that enslavement to the opposite faction was more irksome than foreign rule (Thuc. IV 86. 5). The sad situation that resulted from this attitude is succinctly described in the following important quotation.

To the Greek, to be ruled by his political opponents was an intolerable humiliation, to be averted at any cost, even if it became necessary to deliver his state into the hands of its foemen. The beginnings of this practice of introducing foreign forces are to be traced far back into legendary times, and examples are numerous in every period of Greek history. In nearly every instance in which an attack upon a city is described, there is some allusion to a party within the walls who are making preparations to betray the city into the hands of the enemy, and numbers of captures testify to the success of such plots.¹

¹ Calhoun *op. cit.* 141, where numerous passages illustrative of the practice are cited.

What it is necessary to ask now is, to whom under such circumstances could the title *φιλόπολις* unequivocally be given? For in view of the factional disputes, of the machinations leading up to them and the bitter recriminations that followed, of oligarchical triumph and democratic terror, it is not easy to determine in Alcibiades' time just what the *πόλις* was; that is, if more than a material significance is to be attached to the word. It is too easy to suppose, as is often done, that this convenient unit of discourse stands here for a unit of reality, whereas in fact there are very few times in the history of any of the Greek city-states when the supposition is justified. Plato — for all it suggests an unamiable detachment in him — gave an excellent account of Greek affairs when he said that among city-states his ideal one alone could rightly be called a *πόλις*, that as for the others, *ἐκάστη αὐτῶν πόλεις εἰσὶ πάμπολλαι, ἀλλ' οὐ πόλις* (*Republic* 422E). It should be added that it was no accident that Athens was called by a plural name, nor were there many times in her history when it was not altogether fitting for her to be so called. And it has been forgetfulness of this fact above all other causes that has made possible the origin and continuance of the view that is here finally being challenged.

In modern times it has been customary to reverse the opinion of most of the leading political theorists of antiquity, and at Athens to prefer the cause of the democrats to that of the philo-Laconian, oligarchical party. Consequently in her case the *πόλις* is usually identified with the democracy, and few bother to notice how poor the correspondence is. To be sure this is better than would be an attempted identification of the "city" with the "oligarchs," at least for the historical period with which we are especially concerned, but it is necessary to remember that there were many, even in Periclean Athens, to whom the democracy can only have seemed an unjust usurpation of authority.¹ And is it fair in this situation to say that the democrat — assuming for the moment that the democrats were all of one mind, which was rarely the case — that the democrat was a "lover of his city" and that the oligarch was not? Or that those who at a given

¹ The faction of Thucydides, son of Melesias, must certainly have been of this opinion. After his exile, open opposition to the democratic party was held in check for a time, but that it continued to exist, at least underground, is shown by the existence of the pseudo-Xenophon's *Constitution of Athens*.

moment were secure within the city in the enjoyment of their political rights were patriots, but not their many fellow citizens trying in exile to encompass their return? There were, unfortunately, so very few times when the Greeks of a particular city were all of one mind! But this is a difficult matter to decide only if one persists in applying the modern concept of patriotism to Greek affairs. The riddle is easily solved — and perhaps only capable of solution — when it is recognized that, though to us *φιλοδημία*, *φιλεταιρία*, and the like are not properly identifiable with τὸ φιλόπολι, this is only because notions unknown to the Greek, or at least not held in esteem by him, have since come in to trouble our thinking. Whereas he, unconcerned for the nice distinctions that are now made in these matters, was quite free, in a fashion almost unintelligible to his late, northern commentators, to bestow the title where impulse prompted. Nor were “moral” inhibitions likely to hamper him.

The point will be made clearer by glancing for a moment at the conduct of some of Alcibiades' more prominent contemporaries, and this ought certainly to be done if we are to formulate a legitimate standard for passing judgment on him. Full-length portraits of few of them have come down to us, but the glimpses to be caught are quite adequate for the present purpose. It is highly improbable, for example, that increased knowledge could make such men as Antiphon, Phrynichus, Archeptolemus, Aristarchus, Peisander, and Alexicles — the extremists among the Four Hundred — into modern patriots, devoted rather to their city than to faction. For the love they bore Athens was clearly a desire to dominate it — *φιλαρχία*, not τὸ φιλόπολι. When their position was threatened after a few brief months of power, they were quite ready to surrender the empire and betray the city to Sparta — anything to maintain their own ascendancy (Thuc. VIII 90). Not untypical was the action of Aristarchus at the time of their fall. Happening to be a *strategos*, he quickly took a small Athenian force to help the Boeotians and Corinthians wrest Oenoe from his native land, and then joined other of his associates who had sought safety with the Spartans at Decelea (Thuc. VIII 98). And if patriotism meant little to these men,¹ it meant even less to the extremists

¹ Aristarchus is described by Thucydides as a thorough-going enemy of the people (Thuc. VIII 90). Phrynichus is said to have been chiefly influenced in his

among the Thirty. One need only remember that they exercised control in Athens with the aid of a Spartan garrison, and demonstrated their love for their city by striving conscientiously to render it a paupers' graveyard. The outstanding one among them, distinguished alike for his cruelty and rapacity, was Critias, an older kinsman of Plato. His life, a good part of it spent in exile, was eventful, and his abilities were indisputably greater than average, but there is nothing in his whole career to indicate that he was ever guilty of patriotism (see *CAH* V 365). Nor was that Pheidon who was chosen because of his hostility to Critias as one of the Ten to effect the reconciliation with the democrats, and who then used his opportunity to try to arouse the Spartans anew against his city, and failing this, to attempt to hire mercenaries to bring against it (*Lysias* XII 55-60).

The extreme democrats were men of somewhat similar stamp. Although one makes full allowance for the hostility of our informants about Cleon, it is still impossible to make a patriot of him, as it is of Hyperbolus, famous among his contemporaries of both factions for worthlessness and self-seeking. The fact that Androcles, the leader of the urban masses chiefly known for his prosecution of Alcibiades in the affair of the Herms, was assassinated in the events leading up to

political activity by personal fear of Alcibiades (*Thuc.* VIII 68. 3). That he ultimately fell a victim of political assassination is strong indication that his interest in his city was not a patriotic one (*Thuc.* VIII 92). Alexicles and Peisander quickly fled to the Spartans at Decelea when the Four Hundred fell (*Thuc.* VIII 98). Later on Alexicles and Aristarchus had the misfortune to fall into the hands of the democrats, and were promptly tried and put to death (*Lycurgus Against Leocrates* 115; *Xenophon Hellenica* I 7. 28). It is sufficiently clear that they could not urge patriotism in their defense. Antiphon and Archeptolemus apparently chose to stand trial at once, perhaps trusting in the former's forensic skill to save them from the discomforts of exile. But though Antiphon gave the finest speech of defense that had been heard in Athens down to that time, it was not enough, for there was no doubt in the popular mind that they were enemies of the people rather than patriotic servants of the state (*Thuc.* VIII 68. 2). Antiphon, like any other convicted of treason, was of course denied burial within Attica. His home was razed to the ground, and on its site there was placed an inscription, "Antiphon the Traitor" (*Plutarch Lives of the X Orators* 832 f.). Able he undoubtedly was, and clever, but curiously sinister, even to his contemporaries, and certainly no warm-hearted patriot (see the characterization of him in *CAH* V 325-6). There is in fact no reason to suppose that any of these men so much as suspected the existence of what is now called patriotism, or suspecting it, felt that it was to be held in any great esteem.

the revolution of the Four Hundred (Thuc. VIII 65. 2), is clear indication that he was more interested in faction than in fatherland. Epigenes, Demophantos, and Kleigenes, the most avid participators in the Democratic Terror, cannot have been patriots, for their brand of democracy differed hardly at all from the tyranny of the Thirty that was soon to follow (Lysias XXV 25, where the names have now been corrected). Nor can the name of patriot be given to such men as Calixenus, the leader in the condemnation of the generals of Arginusae (Xenophon *Hellenica* I 7. 8-16 and Suidas under ἐναύειν), or that Archedemos who early had a hand in the same dastardly business (Xenophon *ibid.* I 7. 2).¹

These men, democrats or oligarchs, as far as our records go, seem all to have been distinguished by extreme partisanship unrelieved by any higher loyalty, and where allegiance to party failed, by self-interest. But it can be urged that because they were all extremists their examples prove nothing. To this charge it can be answered that Thucydides' description of the period clearly shows that it was then far more normal to be extreme than to be moderate, and it is better to accept the judgment of this admittedly excellent source than blindly to follow the long-cherished notion that the Greeks were inveterate middle-of-the-rovers.

But there were men at the time who were less passionate in their attachment to party than these, and apparently more concerned for what is now called the general welfare, and who have for these reasons always seemed more admirable than the others. Nicias, guided by innate caution and conservatism; Theramenes, so often disloyal to smaller associations that it has finally been concluded he must have been loyal to the state; Aristocrates; and later still, Cleitophon, Anytus, Archinus, and Phormisius; Rhinon and Phayllus — these who were not strictly party-men, however strongly their sympathies inclined in one direction or the other, certainly constitute a more likeable group than their fellows mentioned above. But it is not necessary to

¹ The characters of Cleon and Hyperbolus are sufficiently well known to need no further comment. Information about the others mentioned here is admittedly fragmentary (see Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica*, Berlin, 1901-03), but it is significant that nowhere is there the slightest indication that anyone of them was ever moved by patriotism.

bring in the concept of patriotism to account for their deeds. Rather do they seem for the most part to have been men of moderate natures who came to realize the futility of continued civil strife, and desired above all else to discover a *modus vivendi* and an opportunity for peaceful social and economic activity. Thrasyllus and Thrasybulus, even Cleophon, though they were far more violently attached to party, should perhaps be mentioned with them because of their superiority to self-seeking. Of these men Thrasybulus has often been considered a great patriot, but it is to be doubted that the modern concept is applicable to one who was so deeply immersed in factional strife. Devoted to the cause of democracy he undoubtedly was, but for anything like a "fatherland" did he care so little that he was ready to precipitate a civil war at a time when his country was engaged in a life or death struggle with Sparta. In the end, it is perhaps a fair supposition that if for a moment after Aegospotami, and more conspicuously and more permanently at the time of the reconciliation, the Athenians rose above factional strife, this was due less to "love of city" than, in the first instance, to fear for their lives, and in the second, to sheer war-weariness and the realization that it was now the only alternative to mutual destruction.

It can of course be argued that the time in which Alcibiades' political activity falls was itself out of joint, and that it is not in his age that one should look for what is characteristically Greek. There is much to support the view. Thucydides intimates as much, and also expressly states that Athens' difficulties at this time were due to her poor leaders (Thuc. II 65). There is obviously slight justification for deliberately measuring the quality of a man's conduct by admittedly inferior examples. Now it might be answered that since these men were the most prominent of his contemporaries it is by their practices that Alcibiades is rightly to be judged, but admitting the charge, it does not appear, even when we lift our gaze to consider Athenian worthies as far back as the expulsion of the Peisistratidae, that the case for patriotism is materially to be strengthened.¹ Was Cleisthenes, who first regained

¹ To go back further would be pointless, for patriotism as now defined cannot have come into question before the political community of the Athenians can be said to have really come into existence. Some kind of ethnocentrism is probably as ancient as the totemic clan, but patriotism is quite a different thing.

admission to his city by stirring up a Spartan armament against it, who possibly enfranchised the people only in order to rise above his enemies,¹ who was apparently ready to subordinate Athens to Persia to maintain his position² — was this man a patriot? Or Isagoras, the champion of the majority of the *gene* who called in Cleomenes to strangle the nascent democracy and rid him of his rival? Or Hippias, sailing with the Persian punitive expedition to Marathon? Or those Alcmaeonid leaders, if they were Alcmaeonids, who flashed the signal to the Persians in an unsuccessful attempt to betray the city to them? These men are clearly the heads of factions prepared to go to any lengths in order to ensure their personal ascendancy; and with reason, for in their disputes defeat at the polls called not simply for gracious acquiescence in the temporary victory of another, but commonly entailed exile or death. Under such circumstances, and considering the then recent origin of political life, it is not strange that their actions show little dependence on the concept of patriotism.

The situation is much the same when their successors on the center of the stage of Athenian history are considered. It is chiefly the history of ostracism that makes it quite clear that Miltiades the Philaid, the Alcmaeonids Megacles and Xanthippus, with whom Aristides is probably to be associated, and the Peisistratid Hipparchus, whatever their personal characteristics may have been, were all leaders of rival factions contending among themselves for power, and not patriotic servants of the state. Themistocles, as a *novus homo*, seems to fall in a different category, but it is not clear that he can properly be called a patriot. His devotion was less to an abstract idea of the *polis* than to a class within it, and to an idea of how best to secure its commercial supremacy. If motivation beyond this is sought, it will be found ultimately to rest in concern for his own personal success and profit. His character is not unlike that of Alcibiades, but in his case the question of pan-Hellenic patriotism comes chiefly to the fore. Making allowance for this difference, his flight to the Persians bears a marked similarity to the other's desertion to Sparta. It is curious, incidentally, that in neither case did contemporaries feel, conditions being what they were, that their actions needed white-washing.

¹ See J. A. R. Munro in *Classical Quarterly* XXXIII 84 ff.

² Herodotus V 73 and *CAH* IV 157.

Later examples need not detain us long. On the eve of the battle of Salamis the rival factions forgot their differences in face of the great danger that threatened them all, though it should not be overlooked that there were a good many Athenians with Xerxes at the time (Herodotus VIII 54), and that the evacuation of Athens was not accomplished in anything like a burst of patriotism (*CAH* IV 303). On the eve of Plataea there was another partisan attempt to betray the city (Plutarch *Aristides* 13). After the Persian threat had been repulsed, the powerful *gene* worked together for a considerable time to keep Cimon in power, but this unwonted coöperation was not due to any newly found devotion to the city, but to concern about the rising democratic threat. Henceforth oligarch was to be pitted against democrat, and the old quarrels among the *gene* were supplanted by a new kind of factional strife. Ephialtes, assassinated by an agent of the oligarchs, was the first victim of this new warfare. Lovers of the democracy might make a patriot of him, for time transvalues all values, and rebels not infrequently come to be great patriots, as the examples of Washington and Hamilton show; but it was clearly to a party within the city and not to any transcendental, metaphysical notion of his country that Ephialtes was devoted. How deeply the political changes that were being made at this time were resented, and of how little strength patriotism was to soften the resentment, is shown by the attempt of some of the Athenians to betray the city to Sparta at the time of the battle of Tanagra (Thuc. I 107. 4). Thucydides, son of Melesias, who, Aristotle says, was thought, with Nicias and Theramenes, to have been one of the best of the later-day politicians it was Athens' good fortune to have had, was no less a partisan. And finally, Pericles. It is not easy to know what to say of him in view of the great success the Greek genius for idealizing achieved in his portrait. At times he appears to have been a strong partisan who was unusually fortunate in exercising a long personal ascendancy without formidable opposition. For the rest can it not perhaps be said that patriotism is clearly inconsistent with divinity?

It is in fact a very difficult matter to find Athenian or other Greek worthies whose political actions are consistent with the modern conception of the patriot, or who, had they fallen into circumstances similar to those in which Alcibiades found himself in the autumn of

415, could have been trusted to behave more "nobly" than he behaved. Few if any of them would have hesitated to work in close collaboration with Sparta or other foes of their cities if such action promised return from exile and the discomfiture of their political opponents. And in view of their conduct, of a piece in practically all of the ancient accounts we have, despite the frequent expressions of idealism, it can only be concluded that our notion of patriotism as a feeling distinguished from mere love for a physical city, had small power to influence Greek citizens for good or bad, or played any considerable role in their society.¹

One might attempt to explain the fact by saying that the Greeks were too highly civilized to be patriots, and it is true that emancipation from group loyalties does often seem to come with high intellectual development. But in this instance such was not the case. The Greeks knew what city-state patriotism was and what it demanded, but they did not let it get in their way or make of them "nobler" men than they cared to be. It was chiefly at the time of the great national festivals, perversely enough, that the feeling showed itself. On these occasions it was no uncommon thing for a Greek to take immense pride in his native city and to permit his breast to expand with love for her, as the honors so liberally bestowed by the cities on their victorious sons, and with such *éclat*, must surely indicate. Only then it would have been better if they had been thinking of Hellas and exhibiting a national patriotism.²

¹ The discussion has considered examples only from the fifth century, but had attention been focussed on the contemporaries of Demosthenes the results would have been very much the same.

² There is, of course, a necessary distinction to be made between pan-Hellenic and city-state patriotism of the kind with which we have been directly concerned. Athenians called the former *φιλοπατρία* the latter *τὸ φιλόπολι*. That pan-Hellenism constituted a major kind of Greek ethnocentrism is too obvious to require comment, for nothing is better known than the ancient, deep-rooted separation of "Greek" and "barbarian." But pan-Hellenic patriotism is a different thing, and its career in antiquity was very checkered. It perhaps reached its height at the time of the Persian invasions, but even then was not strong enough to prevent considerable medizing. It was often a subject for epideictic literature, especially in Isocrates. It is given an interesting treatment by Plato in the *Republic* (470 B-E). For a moment before Chaeronea it was again made into a sort of reality by the insistent efforts of Demosthenes. But praised as it was in oratory, it is a common-

It is a securely established generality that the Greek world founded on the particularism of the city-states. What is not generally recognized is that this "particularism," contrary to the convinced belief of many, was not "patriotism," and that its power was not confined to the relations among the various *poleis* alone. It was a much more pervasive force than that, and on it not only the national life of the Greeks, but the corporate lives of the city-states themselves came perpetually to grief. Alcibiades' statement that he was a lover of his city only when he was in secure possession of his civil rights was not sophistry, but simply what any other Greek might equally well have said. What he meant was that he, like the others, was chiefly concerned to follow his own best interest. Perhaps he was a little more frank than observance of the customary amenities permitted, but it was not lack of city-state patriotism that gave him his reputation in antiquity for instability. It was rather, as Phrynichus said at Samos as early as 411, that he cared exclusively for neither the oligarchs nor the democrats (Thuc. VIII 48. 4). This was a strange emancipation from group loyalty that was not understood at the time, and therefore not easily condoned. To the Greek, cities were places of social and economic opportunity in which to lead a civilized life, not "fatherlands" demanding patriotic allegiance. But political parties — however constantly their alignments, aims, and membership were shifting — were held in different regard. The majority of the Greeks were normally committed to the view that their personal interests could be safely pursued only in common with others of similar economic condition and political persuasion. Thus in Alcibiades' time, since they identified their private interests with the cause of the democrats or that of the oligarchs,¹ their most abiding loyalties came to be to these

place of historical writing that it never prevailed for long in Greek affairs. At the same time mention should be made of the fact that the Ionians and Dorians clearly continued to be "we-groups" characterized at least in some degree by ethnocentrism (see, for example, Thuc. I 124). It is interesting in this connection that one of the reasons given by Thucydides that the leadership of the Delian League passed from Sparta to Athens was because the Athenians were Ionians (Thuc. I 95. 1).

¹ These broad divisions are of course too general to constitute an accurate description of the political factions at Athens or in any other Greek city at this or any other time. But they are sufficiently precise for the present purpose as well as extremely convenient, and there can be no real objection to making use of them as

factions. "Where your treasure is, there will your heart be also." And it was before this kind of particularism, not peculiarly Greek, but certainly preëminently so, which showed itself in different guises in different periods, and the violent attachments, subversive of so much that was good in Greek society, that resulted from it, that Greek city-state patriotism was condemned again and again to die an abortive death.

One additional consideration remains. Patriotism, like any other ethnocentric feeling, flourishes on hatred of rival groups, and where hatred is absent, is, as a rule, correspondingly weak. In the Greek world there was abundant hate of the democrats by the oligarchs, and *vice versa*, with the result that each of these factions was able to exercise a very strong hold on its members. But the Greek city-states were deterred from hating each other, especially after the Persian wars, by a powerful feeling of kinship. Greeks, for all they might quarrel among themselves, were still Greeks, and nothing is better known about them than the collective exclusiveness they felt in regard to all "barbarians," at least before the time of Alexander. This national feeling was vigorous enough to keep the separate cities from developing too intense feelings of uniqueness, but it was not strong enough to draw them together into a political unity. It simply, as the attachment to faction that came from self-interest, operated to prevent the development in citizens of a patriotic loyalty for their city.

But to say that the Greeks lacked this quality which has recently been valued so highly, it should be mentioned in closing, is not to seek to deprive them of any of their ancient glory. It is rather to lift the shroud that has long enveloped it and show them in at least one small instance in their essential humanity.

long as it is kept in mind that the particularism here being discussed worked within these political parties as well as within the cities, if normally with less force, for the reason given above.

NOTES ON ATHENIAN PUBLIC CULTS

BY ROBERT SCHLAIFER

I

TAXATION FOR THE SUPPORT OF PUBLIC CULTS

THAT the Athenian state contributed generously to the support of many of the cults practised within its boundaries has long been known. Solon's codification of the laws contained a calendar of the festivals and sacrifices paid for by the state (Plut. *Sol.* 25. 2), and the revision of the laws made at the end of the fifth century by a commission under the chairmanship of Nicomachus included a revision of this calendar, which was then published on stone with the prices entered against each item (Oliver *Hesp.* 1935, 5-32). The expression *ἱερὰ διοίκησις* used by Demosthenes (24. 96-7) must, although it has not been so interpreted, refer to this budget of sacrifices. Later it was called the *ἱερὰ διάταξις*, and was administered by a special treasurer (*IG* II² 1035. 16, 17, 3503. 16). The funds used for religious observances are commonly thought to have been taken from the general revenues of the government, and this may well have been true in most cases and for the greater part of the total expense. Yet the state also possessed a source of income affected directly to this purpose: taxes the income from which was reserved for specified cults. Three instances of such taxes have been known for many years, but it has never been concluded from them that this was a common, or even a regular arrangement. Now a recently discovered document (*Hesp.* 1936, 393 ff. no. 10), which has brought to light two further examples, shows conclusively that such taxes could be regular and strongly suggests that they may well have been much more common than can be definitely proved. Although many of the questions which immediately arise concerning this means of raising money for the support of religion must still remain unanswered, nevertheless the four existing documents taken together throw enough light on the question to justify a review of the problems and of the answers which can be given.

Two of the documents concern taxes imposed upon the ship-owners,

apparently all those doing business in the Piraeus, without regard to their status as citizens, metics, or foreigners.¹ In *IG I² 128* they, and perhaps the merchants with them (below note 4), are found paying one drachma on every boat ὅπως ἂν τὸ [- - - ιερὸ]ν² σῶν ἢ τῷ θεῷ, and this payment was probably farmed out by the state in the regular manner.³ The deity involved may have been Zeus Soter in the Piraeus, as Kirchner conjectured,⁴ but there is no compelling reason to assume a close connection between the ship-owners and the cult supported by their payments.

The contributions of these same persons for a festival and perhaps for other expenses of the Anaces⁵ are mentioned in *IG I² 127*. The

¹ It was originally believed that the ναύκληροι paying these taxes were the members of a regular corporation (Ioh. Christ, *De pub. pop. Ath. rationibus*, diss. Gryphiswald. 1879, p. 23; Wachsmuth *Stadt Athen* II 153. 1; Ziebarth *Griech. Vereinswesen* 27). Such a corporation of ναύκληροι certainly did exist in the first century B.C., but Francotte has clearly shown that the evidence gives no support for a belief that the ναύκληροι in these documents of the fifth century are anything but simply members of that profession (*L'indust. dans la Grèce anc.* II 207). Cf. Wachsmuth *o.c.* II 142 and nn. 2-3; Poland *Griech. Vereinswesen* 112.

² The lacuna certainly contained the name of the deity whose ιερὸν was in question. The restoration in *IG* puts [ιερὸν -] at the beginning of the lacuna, but if that is done it is difficult to suggest a name of a single god (cf. τῷ θεῷ) which could end in the preserved ν after the lacuna, nor is there any likely locative qualification with that ending. If [- - ιερὸ]ν is the correct restoration, there are left for the name of the deity, and for the locative phrase if any, nineteen letter-spaces plus the number of letters (unknown) in the secretary's name (l. 2).

³ ἀποδιδόσθων οἱ π[ωληταὶ - - - ἐπὶ τῆς πρώτης]ς πρυτανείας, ὅταν περ τὸ τῶν ἀπα[ρχῶν τέλος? - - -].

⁴ *Ad IG I¹ 68*; cf. Wachsmuth *Stadt Athen* II 142. 2-3. A possible restoration on the basis of a 57-letter line is:

ἔδοχεν τῷ βολεῖ καὶ τοῖ δέμοι, Ἄντ[ιοχίς ἐπρυτάνευε, . . .⁵ . . . ἐγραμμάτ]
ευε, Στράτον ἐπισταται, Λυσικλῆς εἶπ[ε - - - - -²⁵ - - - - - εἰ]
πειδὲ χσνυβάλλονται οἱ ναύκληροι [καὶ ἔμποροι οἱ ἐμ Περαιῇ μίαν δρα]
χμὲν ἕκαστος ἀπὸ τοῦ πλοίου ὅπως ἂν τοῦ [Διὸς τοῦ Σοτέρος τὸ ἐμ Περαιῇ ιερὸ]
ν σὸν εἰ τοῖ θεοῖ κτλ.

It seems quite possible that the ἔμποροι were mentioned with the ναύκληροι. Obviously a restoration such as this is offered only *exempli gratia*, and not as a proved solution.

⁵ Curiously enough, repairs were made in the second century B.C. to the Anaceum by a man who may quite possibly have been a ship-owner, to judge from the fact that in return for his various public services he was given ἀτέλεια τῶν εἰς [ισαγομένων]:

money paid in this case was derived partly from the embarkation tax on passengers, partly from the tax of two per cent. on all exports and imports through the Piraeus, and still a third levy may have been involved.¹ The receipts apparently were collected by the practores and paid directly to the treasurers of the Other Gods (*IG* I² 127. 24, 13-4).

IG I² 79 records a subsidy to a cult of Apollo, probably the Pythian.²

IG II² 968. 15, 48. On the significance of this ἀτέλεια, however, cf. Hasebroek, *Staat u. Handel im alten Griechenland* (Tübingen, 1928), pp. 122-4 = *Trade and Politics in Anc. Gr.* (London, 1933), pp. 116-7.

¹ The ἐπιβατικόν is mentioned ll. 20, 37; the πεντηκοστή ll. 25, 28; an unknown number of drachmae l. 36. Whether or not the 'drachmae' represent a tax at all, and if they do, whether they are to be identified with either or both of the other two, cannot be determined. On the ἐπιβατικόν see Schwahn *RE* τέλη 243. 45; cf. Hasebroek *Staat u. Handel* 177-8 = *Trade and Politics* 164-5. The nature of the πεντηκοστή is disputed. Schöll (*SBMün.* 1887, 17. 2) advanced the view, adhered to by Kirchner (*ad IG* I¹ 34 Supp. p. 63), that it was one of the πεντηκοσταὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν of Dem. 24. 120. However: 1. Such a tax, the property of all the Other Gods, would scarcely have been entirely diverted to a single cult, as seems to be the case here. 2. The fiftieth mentioned by Demosthenes is an ἀπαρχή of booty and therefore of necessity irregular in its productiveness. A more certain revenue seems called for here. 3. The identification made by Hiller (*ad IG* I² 127. 25) with the two-per-cent. port duty (see Böckh *Staatsh.* I³ 382-3 for a discussion of all the evidence on this tax) seems highly probable, both because of the presence in this same decree of the ἐπιβατικόν and because of the likelihood of Hiller's suggested restoration τὸν πλέον[τον -] in l. 26, between the two mentions of the fiftieth (ll. 25, 28).

² The document itself does not specify which cult of Apollo received the money. In 429/8 the treasurers of the Other Gods reported as part of the receipts of Apollo Pythius an unknown amount in Athenian coin derived from ἡ ἀπαρχή (*IG* I² 310. 283 = *AJA* 1931, 42 pl. 4 l. 222; Ferguson *Treasurers of Athena* 97. 2). Any levy for religious purposes on the pay of the military forces would have been called an ἀπαρχή of that pay; compare the ἀπαρχαὶ paid by certain Athenian and Delian magistrates to Apollo Pythius on Delos (*IG* II² 2336, on which document see Dow in this volume, pp. 111-124). Thus the identification of the tax with the ἀπαρχή is extremely probable. The tax, it is true, was paid, not to the treasurers of the Other Gods, but to two special treasurers (ll. 9-15); but this does not make the attribution of the tax to Apollo Pythius any less likely. The date of the inscription concerning the tax is uncertain: the letter-forms (from Fourmont) show only that it is between 446 and 403. If it is earlier than the decree of Callias (434), there is no difficulty. If not, then whether the tax was for the benefit of Apollo Pythius, or Apollo Patrous, as Hiller (*SBBer.* 1919, 669) and Thompson (*Hesp.* 1937, 113. 7) have suggested, or any other Apollo whatever, it would be necessary to assume that these special

The source of this grant was a yearly tax of two drachmae on the horse-men, one on the hoplites, and three obols on the archers.¹ The money was collected by the demarchs from the citizens and by the toxarchs from the archers. If anyone did not pay his tax voluntarily the paymasters deducted the amount from his wages. The money was turned over to the treasury of Apollo, which at the time of this decree was administered by two treasurers chosen by the Council among its own members. These officials carried out the direct administration of the funds of this cult, turning over to the treasurers of the Other Gods — at least, once those officials had been created — the surplus remaining at the end of each fiscal period.

In all three of these instances of taxation for cult purposes, there is every reason to believe that the tax was a normal and regular device for raising money. Likewise, in all three cases the tax was levied upon a certain group only, and not on the entire population. The former of these conclusions is supported by the character of the two newly discovered taxes; the latter must be kept in mind when trying to explain them.

The first of the new taxes is τὸ τέλος τῆς πεντεδραχμίας τῆς τῷ Θεσέϊ (*Hesp.* 1936, 401 l. 134). Not only is the rate of this tax known, but at least the minimum of its total yield can be ascertained. The collector dealt with in this document, who had contracted for only a part of the tax, owed one hundred drachmae per prytany, or one thousand a year; the total yield was probably a multiple of one thousand. The amount collected was, of course, normally greater than that paid to the state, so that for each thousand drachmae received by the state rather more than two hundred persons paid the five-drachma tax. While there is no absolute proof that the tax was not levied on all the citizens or even all the inhabitants of Athens, such a view is most improbable. The rate is so high that if a large number had paid it, mention must surely have been made of the receipts in some extant author. Five drachmae would have been an intolerable burden on the poorer people, who at this time earned perhaps less than a drachma a

treasurers paid over their surplus at the end of each fiscal period to the treasurers of the Other Gods.

¹ [- - - καταβάλλεν δὲ τ[ὸ]ς ἡιππέας δ[ι]δραχμ[ο]ν, [τ]ὸς [δὲ] ἠοπλίτας δραχμὴν] καὶ τὸς τοχσώτας τὸς τε ἄστ[ρο]ς καὶ τὸς χσένους τρ[ί]β[ω]λοδ[ος] τὸ ἐνι[αυτ]ὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ [ἡομολογούμενο μισθὸ] On these archers, see Wernicke *Herm.* 1891, 72-4.

day. Finally, a universal, regular, direct tax is diametrically opposed to classical Greek theories of taxation.

The almost certain conclusion is that this tax, like the three previously discussed, fell on some limited group of individuals. Professor A. D. Nock, who has had the kindness to read this paper, has made the very attractive suggestion that the five drachmae are to be identified with the ἀποφοραί paid for the support of the cult of Theseus by the members of those families which according to the legend had sent their children as tribute to Minos.¹ That these families counted as many as five hundred tax-paying descendants in the fifth century is not at all unlikely.

Both the reason and the date of the introduction of this tax can be conjectured with considerable probability. In 475, Cimon recovered the bones of Theseus on the island of Scyros and brought them home to Athens. Theseus was made the great national hero, his shrine was enlarged and greatly embellished (Judeich *Topog. v. Athen*² 74, 352), and his cult was thenceforth celebrated with unusual magnificence (Stengel *Griech. Kultusalt.*³ 230). In 332/1 the skins of the victims from the Thesea were sold for 1183 dr., whereas the total proceeds from the skins of all the festivals in 334/3 were only 5099 $\frac{2}{3}$ dr., and only once was a greater amount obtained from a single sacrifice (*IG* II² 1496. 134-5, 90, 118). The same impression of high current expenses is given by the fact that although in 429/8 Theseus had the remarkably large cash balance of 4270 dr.,² he was able in 423/2 to lend to the state a mere 808 $\frac{2}{3}$ dr. (Meritt *Athen. Finan. Docum.* 141 l. 84), a surprisingly small figure when contrasted with loans of two to four talents made by comparatively unimportant deities. Probably in 475, then, when the state first intervened in the direction of the cult, it provided this tax as a means of meeting the increased expenses, either creating an entirely new source of revenue or regular-

¹ Plut. *Thes.* 23. 5 (ed. Linds. See Wilamowitz *Aristoteles und Athen* I 270. 21 for the emendation (ἐταξαν for ἐταξεν) here adopted, which eliminates the complications accepted from Müller by Töpffer *Attische Genealogie* 251). The state is known to have made official and obligatory a previously traditional and voluntary contribution in the case of the Eleusinian ἀπαρχή (*IG* I² 76), and these ἀποφοραί were probably regulated by a similar law.

² *IG* I² 310. 156 = *AJA* 1931, 42 pl. 4 l. 75. His receipts in that year (ll. 215, 282 *IG* = 135, 221 *AJA*: see Ferguson *Treas.* 97. 2) are not preserved.

izing an older, traditional one which may have been falling into neglect.

Only one Theseum lay within the city itself,¹ and it must be of this principal cult that the Phytalids had, according to the legend, received the charge from Theseus,² whether or not they also administered the minor sanctuaries outside the city. There is not the slightest reason to assume, as various scholars have done,³ that when the state intervened in the cult it withdrew this privilege from the *genos*. Such a procedure would in fact have been directly contrary to the normal Athenian practice, which left even the greatest cults in the hands of the *gene* which traditionally celebrated them. The presence of a state subsidy in no way alters the case. The Eumolpidae and Salaminii, too, received subsidies for certain of their gentile sacrifices.⁴

The state subsidy was almost certainly not paid to the *genos* in cash, but was used for victims which were bought by officials of the state and turned over to the *genos* for sacrifice.⁵ Theseus had a cash income, no doubt, but it probably came not from the *πεντέδραχμία* but from some other source, e.g., the lease of space within the Theseum for shops (*Syll.*² 587 n. 12; cf. Dem. 18. 129), and the rent of properties situated between the Long Walls.⁶

¹ Thuc. VI 61. 2 Θησεῖω τῷ ἐν πόλει. There was no Theseum on the acropolis, and hence πόλις must be used here with the sense of ἄστυ.

² Plut. *Thes.* 23. 5; cf. Wilamowitz *AuA* I 270. 21.

³ E.g., Robert *Heldensage* 753, accepted by Deubner *Att. Feste* 224.

⁴ Eumolpidae: *Hesp.* 1935, 21 ll. 73-4. Salaminii: *Hesp.* 1938, 3 ff. ll. 20-1, 87 οἷς ἡ πόλις δίδωσιν ἐκ κύρβειων. On the meaning of κύρβεις see Oliver *Hesp.* 1935, 9-13.

⁵ This was the procedure with the Salaminii: *Hesp.* 1938, 3 ll. 20 ff. ὅσα . . . ἡ πόλις παρέχει, . . . ταῦτα θύοντας νέμεσθαι τὰ κρέα. Cf. Ferguson *ib.* 33. 5. The incidental costs involved in sacrificing the victim were paid by the *genos*: *l.c.* l. 87. In the same way, the state furnished victims to the Eumolpidae: *Hesp.* 1935, 21 ll. 73-4. In the case of the Thesea, the victims were undoubtedly bought by the hieropoei who sold the skins for the profit of the state: *IG II*² 1496. 134.

⁶ Philochorus (fr. 45 *FHG* I 391) states definitely that there were only four Thesea in Attica. One of these, of course, was the main sanctuary in the city; another was located on Hippius Colonus (Paus. I 30. 4; cf. Soph. *O.C.* 57 and sch. Ar. *Eq.* 785) and a third in the Piraeus (*IG II*² 2498). Thus the two or more *τεμένη* of Theseus between the Long Walls (*IG II*² 1035. 48; cf. Judeich *Τοπογ.*² 425) cannot have been actual shrines of the hero. (Steuding, 'Theseus' *ap.* Roscher 726, attempted to count these *τεμένη* among the four temples mentioned by Philochorus, holding that the *τεμένη* were only two in number and that one is to be identified with the Theseum in the Piraeus. But the Theseum in the Piraeus was not between the Long Walls:

The second of the taxes known from the new document is τὸ τέλος τῆς δραχμῆς τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ (*Hesp.* 1936, 401 l. 142). Once more only a minimum can be determined for its total yield. The contractor, who again had bought only a share in the tax, owed 36 $\frac{2}{3}$ dr. each prytany, or 366 $\frac{2}{3}$ dr. a year, obviously a third share of 1100 (cf. Ferguson *Hesp.* 1938, 13. 2). The total yield to the state was probably 1100 dr. or a multiple thereof, and the taxpayers were a number appreciably larger than 1100 or a multiple of it.

Whether or not the cult officials received any of the money from this tax in cash is a question which can be answered only with hesitation. A cult might receive a cash contribution from the state, like the one for Apollo (above pp. 235-6). It seems more probable, however, that Asclepius did not. The state took the proceeds of the sale of the victims' skins from the Asclepieia and the Epidauria,¹ and this is probably an indication that the officials reporting this money, hieropoei in the former case, boönae in the latter, had bought the victims and delivered them to the cult officials for sacrifice. Asclepius eventually had a certain amount of cash income, from which his priest made a dedication in the first century B.C. (*IG* II² 4465), but this was probably the product of a gradual accumulation of property from such donations as that of Demon (below pp. 241-2).

The presence of taxation is more easily explicable in the cult of Asclepius than it would be in almost any other. The worship of this god was introduced late into Athens, arriving from Epidaurus only in

*Syll.*³ 965 n. 3; and whereas the state had the authority to lease the τεμένη between the Long Walls, the Theseum in the Piraeus was let out by the deme (*IG* II² 1035, 2498). Philochorus' statement about the total number of shrines can, of course, scarcely be rejected. The solution is simple: just before the τεμένη of Theseus in *IG* II² 1035 there is the entry [- - - π] ἀρὰ τὰ μακρὰ τίχῃ Ἀθηνᾶς Πολιάδος. Athena was certainly not worshipped as Polias in a humble shrine between the Long Walls, and this entry must, therefore, refer to some property which she owned there and from which she undoubtedly drew an income. Such revenue-producing properties, even though not used for religious services, were normally known as τεμένη: Latte *RE* τέμενος 435. 60 on *IG* I² 376. 2; cf. *Hesp.* 1937, 455 no. 5; *IG* II² 1592. Theseus' properties were undoubtedly of this sort.

¹ From the Asclepieia: *IG* II² 1496. 78, 109, 150; from the Epidauria: *ib.* ll. 133, 142. The latter festival also is called 'Asclepieia' in the list, but is identified as the Epidauria by its place in the calendar: see Kirchner *ad IG* l.c. l. 133; Deubner *Att. Feste* 73. 4.

420 B.C.¹ Consequently his temple had no traditional organization or established revenues. The absence of the former made it possible to select the priest from the entire body of Athenians in accordance with a scheme fixed by the state, and the lack of the latter led to the creation of a tax to substitute for income-producing properties. Asclepius' worship probably became the state's concern, with these results, either directly upon its introduction or very shortly thereafter.² Despite this, however, the family of Telemachus of Acharnae, who had brought the god to Athens (*IG II²* 4960. 8, 4961, 4355; *PA* 13561), continued to take a lively interest in the cult. Telemachus' son Theangelus was almost certainly priest,³ and it was Theangelus' son Telemachus who bought in the property given as surety for the collection of Asclepius' drachma.⁴

On whom was the drachma levied? Even if it had fallen on every citizen or every free adult male, the total revenue would have been only four to seven talents, a sum which might easily have escaped mention in the ancient authors, and which was by no means too great

¹ *IG II²* 4960. 1-13; cf. F. Kutsch, *Attische Heilgötter und Heilheroen (Religionsgeschichtl. Versuche u. Vorarb. XII 3)* (Giessen, 1913), pp. 16-21.

² When Asclepius first arrived in Athens he received temporary lodging in the Eleusinium, and in the same year (420/19) his own precinct was founded on the south slope of the acropolis. In the next year, however, the work was interrupted by a dispute over the land with the Ceryces which was shortly decided in favor of Asclepius. (*IG II²* 4960. 2-16.) The winning of the suit against so influential a family and, even more significant, the mere granting by the state of permission to build on so well situated a site, indicate that the state was seriously interested in the cult from the beginning. The very introduction of the cult to Athens was probably made under official auspices. The earliest date, it is true, at which state intervention can be definitely demonstrated is only a little before the middle of the fourth century (Kutsch *Att. Heilgött.* 26). Nevertheless, Kutsch's argument (*ib.* 25-6) that the intervention cannot have taken place before 408, because at least until that time the Asclepieum in the Piraeus was more important than the one in the city, is completely unconvincing.

³ *IG II²* 4963. This might be thought an indication that sortition had not yet been introduced at the date of Theangelus' priesthood, but more probably he obtained the office in the ordinary way. This priesthood involved considerable burdens for its holder, and candidates can scarcely have been numerous. Nor is a voluntary abstention of Theangelus' fellow tribesmen at all unlikely.

⁴ *Hesp.* 1936, 402 l. 151. Meritt (*ib.* 413) correctly identified this Telemachus as *PA* 13562 but failed to remark the connection of the family with Asclepius.

for the expenses of a cult that included three great festivals, the Asclepieia, Epidauria, and Heroa, all of them accompanied by panychides (*IG* II² 974-5). The general objections to the assumption of such a tax remain, but if the incidence was not universal, it is impossible to conjecture on what group of people it fell.¹

Despite the deplorable inadequacy of the records which have survived, five cults are known to have received important subsidies derived from special taxes. How many more of these taxes there may have been cannot even be conjectured, but there can be no doubt that these five were not alone.² This sort of income must be neither neglected nor underestimated in the consideration of the finances of the Athenian public cults.

II

THE PRIESTS OF ASCLEPIUS DEMON AND EUTHYDEMUS

1. *Demon son of Demomeles of Paeania.*

The only information on the priesthood of Demon is contained in *IG* II² 4969, which records that in obedience to an oracle he dedicated

¹ Another possible interpretation of the drachma of Asclepius is that it was the Athenian version of the *ιατρικόν*. In certain other Greek cities a tax by this name, levied on the population generally, is known to have existed for the payment of the public physicians (*Schwahn RE τέρη* 255. 36). Public physicians existed in Athens at least as early as 425 B.C. (*Ar. Ach.* 1030), but the means by which they were paid are unknown. Since they were closely connected with Asclepius, making a collective offering to him twice a year (*IG* II² 772. 9), it is not impossible that their official headquarters were his temple, and that the tax levied for their pay was called the 'drachma of Asclepius.' Analogy with the *ιατρικόν* in the other cities would indicate a general tax, not a fee paid by the sick. The latter type of revenue would have been almost impossible to farm out, and for a new type of purpose the Athenians may have waived their old objections to direct taxation, especially since the amount was small and the benefits were considerable.

² The *δεκάτη ἀνδραπόδων* which formed part or all of the *ἐγκύκλιος καρπός* of Artemis Agrotera (*IG* I² 310. 220 = *AJA* 1931, 42 pl. 4 l. 140) may have been a sales tax or a tax on manumissions imposed by the state. (The interpretation as a sales tax would be virtually certain if there was really a monthly public slave market at Athens, but this is dubious: Westermann *RE* Suppb. VI 'Sklaverei' 911. 16.) Under Hippias Athena Polias received a tax of one choenix of barley, one choenix of wheat, and one obol, for every birth or death ([*Arist.*] *Oec.* 1347a14-7).

his house and garden to Asclepius, in return for which the city made him priest of the god: τοῦ δήμου . . . δόν[τος ἱερέα¹ εἶναι] τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ. Ever since Ferguson's fundamental work on the priests of Asclepius² it has always been assumed that at the time Demon was made priest, in the middle or third quarter of the fourth century,³ the tribal cycles had already been applied to this office, and that Demon held it in accordance with them.⁴

As a matter of fact, the application of the tribal cycles to this priesthood cannot be demonstrated before the third century, although the fourth-century priests can be fitted into cycles if it is assumed that the system existed at that time (Dinsmoor *Archons* 452-7). It would have been an astonishing coincidence, however, if Demon had happened to make his dedication just before his tribe was eligible to the priesthood, and it is even less likely that the city waited for his tribe's proper turn to reward him. And there are still stronger arguments against the usual interpretation — after all, a coincidence is always possible. Demon did not receive the office by sortition, the normal means in the third century for the choice of the priest of Asclepius⁵ and the only means known to have been used for any office rotating in tribal cycles. Nor did he receive it by election, a system which, it is conceivable though most improbable, might have been combined with the cycles. He received it in fact by decree of the people: δόντος can imply nothing else.⁶

¹ Attention must be called to the fact that in both the places where the word ἱερέα occurs in this text it is restored, and in such a place that there is no epigraphical reason for preferring this restoration to any other. But since no other office seems adequate compensation for such a service, the accepted text is certainly correct.

² W. S. Ferguson, *The Priests of Asklepios* (U. of Calif. Publications, Class. Philol., I 5) (Berkeley, 1906; 2d ed. 1907).

³ The letter-forms of the inscription are those of the middle of the century; the period of Demon's greatest activity as a politician was 335-23 (*PA* 3736).

⁴ Homolle, 'Donarium' *ap.* *DS* 367a and n. 65, followed by Guiraud, *Propr. Foncière* 364, believed that Demon gave the property on the definite understanding that he was to be compensated by the revenues of the priesthood. This type of business transaction, common enough elsewhere, is unknown in Athens.

⁵ E.g. *IG* II² 1163. 3-4 (ca. 288/7).

⁶ In late times, when the temper of Athens was more oligarchic, the magistrates may occasionally have perverted the lot by use of suasion on undesirable candi-

Since a grant of the priesthood by decree must have been an exception to whatever system was normally in use at the time, the system may as well have been sortition combined with tribal cycles as any other. The use of sortition, at least, is highly probable, since it is what one would expect in any case in a new public office of this sort created in the late fifth or the fourth century, and even more because, if it had not been used in the fourth century, it is difficult to imagine its adoption in the third, when in every known case new offices were elective (Kahrstedt *Untersuch. z. Magistratur* 50-1). As for the tribal cycles, they had already been applied to the secretaries of the treasurers of Athena in 443/2 (Dinsmoor *Ath. Stud. Ferguson* [*HSCP* Supp. I] 157-182), and to the prytany secretaries in 356/5 (Dinsmoor *Archons* 354). It is therefore quite likely that they were used for the priesthood of Asclepius as soon as the state took control of the cult, probably ca. 420-19 (above p. 240 n. 2), but a definitive solution of the problem requires further evidence.

Moreover, it is quite possible that Demon was not priest of the city Asclepieum at all. He may, like Euthydemus (below), have been priest of the Asclepieum in the Piraeus, which was also under the control of the state (*IG* II² 47).¹ But in any case he must clearly not be included in the tribal cycles of the priests of Asclepius in the city.

2. *Euthydemus of Eleusis.*

Euthydemus has always been placed in the cycles of priests of the Asclepieum in the city. Both the documents from which his priesthood is known (*IG* II² 47, 4962), however, come from the Piraeus. The Asclepieum there was founded in the same year as the one in the city (Kutsch *Att. Heilgött.* 36), and for some time was actually the more important of the two (*ib.* 25-6). There is not the slightest reason, therefore, to think that it was a mere dependency of the temple in the

dates. This is contrary to the spirit of the fourth century, and in any case such a procedure would not have been openly advertised by an inscription.

¹ The place of finding of the inscription which records his priesthood is unfortunately unknown. It might even be thought that Demon, like the individuals mentioned in *IG* II² 1302. 7 and 1364, had founded a new and independent shrine of the god. But if this had been the case there would have been no need and very little likelihood of intervention on the part of the state.

PRITCHETT'S TEXT

5 ΤΑΣΚΑΘΗΚΟΥΣΑΣΕΝΤ[ΗΠΡΥΤΑΝΕΙΑ]ΥΠΕΡΤΗΣΒ[ΟΥΛΗΣΚΑΙΤΟΥΔΗ]
 10 ΜΟΥΕΠΙΜΕΜΕΛΗΣΘΑΙΔ[ΕΚΑΙΤΩΝΑΛΛΩ]ΝΑΠΑΝΤΩΝΚΑΛΩΣΚΑΙΦΙΛΟΤΙ
 15 ΜΩΣ¹⁵ΑΓΑΘΕΙΤΥΧΕ[ΔΕΔΟΧΘΑΙΤΗΒΟΥΛΗΕΠΑΙΝΕΣΑΙΤΟΝΤΑΜΙΑΝ]
 20 [Α]ΠΟΛΛΟΔΩΡΟΥ[ΠΡΟΣΠΑΛΤΙΟΝΕΥΣΕΒΕΙΑ]ΣΕΝΕΚΑΤΗΣΠΡ[ΟΣΤΟΥΣΘΕΟΥΣ
 25 [ΚΑΙ]ΦΙΛ[ΟΤΙΜΙΑΣΤΗΣΕΙΣΤΟΥΣΦΥΛ]ΕΤΑΣΕΠΑΙΝΕΣΑΙΔΕΚΑΙΤΟΝΤΑ
 30 [ΔΟΣΣΦΗΤΤΙΟΝΚΑΙ]ΤΟΝΙΕΡΕΑ
 35 [ΤΟΥΕΠΩΝΥΜΟΥΠΡΟΞΕΝΟΝΑΡΜΟΔΙΟΥΑΦ]ΔΕΝΑΙΟΝΚΑΙΤΟΝΚ[ΗΡΥΚΑΤΗΣ]
 40 [ΒΟΥΛΗΣΚΑΙΤΟΥΔΗΜΟΥΕΥΚΛΗΝΦΙΛΟΚ]ΛΕΟΥΣΤΡΙΝΕΜΕΕΑ[ΚΑΙΤΟΝΓΡΑΜ]
 45 [ΜΑΤΕΑΤΗΣΒΟΥΛΗΣΚΑΙΤΟΥΔΗΜΟΥΦ]ΛΙΣΚΟΝΙΠΠΙΟΥΕΚ[ΕΡΑΜΕΛΝΚΑΙ]
 50 [ΤΟΝΑΥΛΗΤΗΝΔΕΞΙΛΑΟΝΑΛΑΙΕΑ]¹⁶ΑΝΑΓΡΑΨΑΙΔΕΤΟΔ[ΕΤΟΥΗΦΙΣΜΑ]
 55 [ΤΟΝΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΑΤΟΝΚΑΤΑΠΡΥΤΑΝΕ]ΑΝΕΝΣΤΗΛΗΙΛΙΘΙΝ[ΗΙΚΑΙΣΤΗΣΑΙ]
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NEW TEXT

5 ΤΑΣΚΑΘΗΚΟΥΣΑΣΕΝΤ[ΗΠΡΥΤΑΝΕΙΑ]ΥΠΕΡΤΗΣΒ[ΟΥΛΗΣΚΑΙΤΟΥΔΗ]
 10 ΜΟΥΕΠΙΜΕΜΕΛΗΣΘΑΙΔ[ΕΚΑΙΤΩΝΑΛΛΩ]ΝΑΠΑΝΤΩΝΚΑΛΩΣΚΑΙΦΙΛΟΤΙ
 15 ΜΩΣ¹⁶ΑΓΑΘΕΙΤΥΧΕ[ΔΕΔΟΧΘΑΙΤΗΒΟΥΛΗΕΠΑΙΝΕΣΑΙΤΟΝΤΑΜΙΑΝ]
 20 [Α]ΠΟΛΛΟΔΩΡΟΥ[ΣΦΗΤΤΙΟΝΕΥΣΕΒΕΙΑ]ΣΕΝΕΚΑΤΗΣΠΡ[ΟΣΤΟΥΣΘΕΟΥΣ]
 25 [ΚΑΙ]ΦΙΛΟΤΙΜΙΑΣΤΗΣΕΙΣΤΟΥΣΦΥΛ²⁴ΕΤΑΣΕΠΑΙΝΕΣΑΙΔΕΚΑΙΤΟΝΤΑΜ
 30 [ΔΟΣΣΦΗΤΤΙΟΝΚΑΙ]ΤΟΝΙΕΡΕΑΤΟΥ
 35 [ΑΦ]ΔΕΝΑΙΟΝΚΑΙΤΟΝΚ[ΗΡΥΚΑΤΗΣΒΟΥ]
 40 [ΤΕΑΤΗΣΒΟΥΛΗΣΚΑΙΤΟΥΔΗΜΟΥΦ]ΛΙΣΚΟΝΙΠΠΙΟΥΕΚ[ΕΡΑΜΕΛΝΚΑΙ]
 45 [ΤΟΝΑΥΛΗΤΗΝΔΕΞΙΛΑΟΝΑΛΑΙΕΑ]^{21 1/2}ΑΝΑΓΡΑΨΑΙΔΕΤΟΔ[ΕΤΟΥΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΟΝ]
 50 [ΤΟΝΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΑΤΟΝΚΑΤΑΠΡΥΤΑΝΕ]ΑΝΕΝΣΤΗΛΗΙΛΙΘΙΝ[ΗΙΚΑΙΣΤΗΣΑΙΕΝ]
 55 [ΤΟΝΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΑΤΟΝΚΑΤΑΠΡΥΤΑΝΕ]ΑΝΕΝΣΤΗΛΗΙΛΙΘΙΝ[ΗΙΚΑΙΣΤΗΣΑΙΕΝ]
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Line of
Reference

city, or without an independent personnel of its own. Euthydemus was surely priest of that cult, and should be removed from the tribal cycles.

III

TWO PRYTANY DECREES AND THE PRIESTS OF THE EPONYMI

1. *The decree for Acamantis of 223/2 B.C. and the date of a decree for Aeantis.*

W. K. Pritchett has published in *Hesperia* (1940, 115-8 no. 23) a new fragment of the prytany decree for Acamantis of 223/2¹ and has proposed to date in that same year the decree for Aeantis assigned to 229-7 by Dow (*Pryt.* 28). On the basis of the new text and the new date for the other inscription he has drawn some remarkable conclusions concerning the priests of the eponymi (*l.c.* 121). Hence before attempting to make any observations concerning those officials the new text must be examined in detail. In addition this offers an occasion to make better known a very useful technique developed by Dow for dealing with non-στοιχηδόν inscriptions.

It has been recognized for some time that in restoring a short lacuna in a non-στοιχηδόν inscription iotas should be counted as half a space and all other letters as one space. Dow further refined this method by observing that if an entire inscription is written out according to this formula the lines will vary in length almost never by more than ten per cent., and often by considerably less. The photograph of the new fragment *d* shows that the part of the Acamantid decree here dealt with was very evenly cut; the lines from the forty-ninth to the sixty-first are perfectly uniform in spacing. Since the principle of syllabification must also be taken into account, the accompanying plate is presented for clarity. On it the ρ of ὑπέρ (l. 49) was taken as a point of reference. The letters or interspaces appearing directly below the ρ on the stone were placed correspondingly on the chart. The lines were then written out, following Dow's system, forwards and backwards from this vertical 'line of reference'.² On either side

¹ IG II² 917 = S. Dow, *Prytaneis* (*Hesp.* Supp. I) (Athens, 1937), no. 30.

² This method is obviously not used to reconstruct the appearance of the stone: the letters on the left margin were of course aligned vertically. The purpose of the

vertical lines were drawn to indicate the greatest and least length of those lines which can be restored with certainty, and a line indicating the 'average margin' was placed midway between the two extremes. The figures in the lacunae of the new text indicate the amount of space available to these average margins.

In this new text three sorts of changes have been made. First, the demotic of Apollodorus (l. 53) has been changed; for the reasons see the *Note* on p. 250. Second, a number of syllables have been taken from the beginnings of lines and assigned to the ends of the preceding lines; for this the chart itself gives sufficient justification. Finally, certain restorations made by Pritchett have been removed from the text, and it is the purpose of these pages to explain those removals.

The date of this decree is known from the demotic of the prytany secretary to have been 223/2 B.C. The basis of Pritchett's entire treatment of it is his claim that the decree for Aeantis (*Pryt.* no. 28) was passed, not in 229-7, but in the same year as this decree. This claim rests on the following contentions.

1. The sub-secretary in the decree for Aeantis is Timocrates of Cydathenaeum (ll. 81, [1]). Pritchett restores in the new text (l. 59): [τὸν ὑπογραμματέα Τιμοκρά]την Τιμοκράτου Κυ[δαθηναίᾳ].

2. In the early fourth century a sub-secretary could not twice hold the same post (Lys. 30. 29). Pritchett believes that this rule still held in the late third century. Consequently, he concludes, the two decrees must be of the same year.

3. If this is so, then the secretary of the Council and People, too, must be the same in both. Pritchett restores his name in the Acamantid decree (l. 58) as [Φί]λισκον ἐκ Κ[εραμέων]. If this is correct, it is quite possible, as Pritchett says, to make the restoration in the decree for Aeantis (ll. 77-9): [Φίλισ|κον ἐκ Κ]ε|[ραμέων]. This identification of the two secretaries, even if certain, would of course be no *positive* argument for the conclusion that the two decrees were rendered in the same year, since this official was elective (Arist. *Resp.* A. 54. 5) and could have been chosen for a second term.

chart is rather to show at a glance the amount of deviation of each line from perfect adherence to the formula, i.e. the number of letters above or below the average.

Thus the entire argument for dating the Aeantid decree in the year of the one for Acamantis turns solely upon the identity of the two sub-secretaries. Even if they were identical, it would still be far from certain that the decrees were of the same year. Although no examples are known until about a century later, the general conditions in Athens in the late third century make it none the less highly probable that various offices previously restricted to a single tenure could then be held repeatedly. It remains to be seen whether it is even likely that the two sub-secretaries were the same person.

Pritchett speaks (p. 117) as if the deme of the secretary Philiscus (l. 58) were known to be Ceramicus. Actually, however, the man is completely unknown. Three demotics in use at this time begin with ἐκ Κ - -,¹ and the only reason for restoring Κ[εραμέων] here is that this is the only one which will fit in the Aeantid decree. Since the only reason for restoring the same secretary in the two decrees is the assumption that both the decrees are of the same year, it would be arguing in a circle to sustain the identity of the sub-secretaries, which is the only indication of identity of year, by the assumption of this demotic. Accordingly, in considering the possibilities for the name of the sub-secretary in the Acamantid decree, the question of the demotic Κ[- -] must be left open. The three possibilities listed above require respectively four, six, and seven spaces of restoration. The average length of the lines allows eleven spaces at the end of line 58. Therefore, if the demotic took four or six spaces, the words καὶ τὸν were certainly written at the end of this line; if it took seven, τὸν may have been at the beginning of line 59, but it may equally well have been at the end of line 58. The chances are thus three to one that τὸν stood at the end of line 58.

Now the average length of the lines allows 22 ½ spaces in the lacuna at the beginning of line 59. Of these, fifteen would have been taken by τὸν ὑπογραμματέα or twelve by ὑπογραμματέα alone. There were thus left for the restoration of the name of the sub-secretary 7 ½ or 10 ½ spaces if the line was of average length. It can be seen on the chart that the maximum variation on the left is just over one space, plus or minus. [Τιμοκρά]την requires 6 ½, and is, consequently, a possible restoration. Possible — but only if τὸν stood at the beginning of

¹ ἐκ Κηδῶν, Κολωνοῦ, Κεραμέων.

line 59, where it is much less likely to have been than at the end of line 58. It would require, therefore, convincing non-epigraphic arguments to justify the restoration.

The sub-secretary in the Aeantid decree is a *Κυδαθηναίεύς*; the demotic of that official in the other decree is *Κυ[- - -]*, which can only be restored as *Κυ[δαθηναίέα]* or *Κυ[δαντίδην]*. The name of the former official is Timocrates; that of the latter is *[- - -]την Τιμοκράτου*. Thus the name of the *father* of the official in the Acamantid document is the same as that of the official himself in the other decree, and it is *a priori* an even chance that the two men came from the same deme. This is an excellent reason for identifying the father with the official in the other decree, and there is no reason for rejecting this identification. Six years separate the two decrees by Dow's dating, and there was no fixed age at which a man held such a post. Furthermore, the occupation is one which may well have been traditional in a family. On the other hand, a glance at the *Prosopographia* will show that in the great majority of cases a son did not bear the same name as his father; a sampling indicates that the proportion was about ten to one.

Thus against Pritchett's view that the two decrees are of the same year the following arguments can be advanced: 1. The two sub-secretaries probably did not bear the same name. 2. Even if they did, the father of the sub-secretary in the decree for Acamantis rather than that official himself may perfectly well have been the sub-secretary in the decree for Aeantis. 3. And even if the same man was sub-secretary in both decrees, it is far from certain that they are of the same year. There is, then, no sufficient reason to change Dow's date of 229-7 for the Aeantid decree.

The priest in the decree for Aeantis is Proxenus of Aphidna (*PA* 12269), whose father was a hypothetical Harmodius (stemma *PA* 2232). Pritchett restores in line 56 of the Acamantid decree [*Πρόξενον Ἀρμοδίου Ἀφιδναίων*]. This, to begin with, is not very likely epigraphically: there is a normal space of 13½ letters in line 56 for the restoration of the priest's name and this requires 15½, making an unparalleled excess of two letters.

This argument is, of course, inconclusive, but it is supported by all

the probabilities. Although it is not absolutely inconceivable that one man may have held priesthoods of more than one eponymus, there is no evidence that this ever happened,¹ and a man who had already performed the priestly duties for the hero of his own tribe is not very likely to have wanted to serve another tribe's hero too. Pritchett's restoration is in reality simply the identification of a man, and not the most likely man at that, by his demotic alone.² And if his contention that the two decrees are of the same year is correct despite what has been set forth above, then that is an additional argument of the greatest weight against the assumption that the priesthoods were filled by the same man, for the duties of the two offices would surely have conflicted. Pritchett felt this difficulty and tried to explain away the simultaneous holding of the two priesthoods by a theory that the office was held only for the duration of the prytany (*Hesp.* 1940, 121). There is nothing at all to indicate that this was the case. No priesthood is known which was vacant during part of the year, and the decree of Erechtheis (below p. 255 n. 4) makes it perfectly certain that the priest of the eponymus was not dependent upon the prytanes.

The argument here presented for the complete divorcement of the two decrees is, of course, purely negative. It cannot be proved positively that the two decrees are not of the same year or that the same man was not mentioned as priest in both. But lacking further evidence the first proposition is unlikely, the second highly improbable, and the two together nearly impossible.

¹ The assumption that such duplication could occur really rests on the belief that there was at this time a great scarcity of candidates for the priesthoods of the eponymi. This belief, in turn, is due to the observation that the eponymi of certain tribes, including Acamantis in this case, were served by priests who were not members of those tribes. But these outsiders were admitted to the priesthood for an entirely different reason (below pp. 251-4), and there is no evidence whatever for any scarcity of candidates.

² The same objection holds against Pritchett's proposal (*AJP* 1939, 259-60; *Hesp.* 1940, 121) to restore [Εὐβουλίδην] in *Pryt.* no. 31 l. 15.

*Note on the demotic of the secretary Apollodorus*¹

Pritchett states (pp. 117-8) that [Προσπάλτιον]² is the only possible restoration in lines 34-5 because the preserved ΤΙ are under the seventh and eighth letters of the line above and because, he says, this is the only demotic from Acamantis which can be fitted around these letters in this position. On the creation of Ptolemais, however, Prospalta was transferred to that tribe, and if, as seems likely, that event is to be dated in 226/5 or 224 (Dinsmoor *Ath. Archon List* 160-1), Prospalta cannot be the deme of the secretary of the prytanes of Acamantis in 223/2. Σφήττιος in that case was the only demotic in Acamantis containing the letters τι.

Ptolemais, to be sure, may not have been created until 222, but for epigraphical reasons [Σφήττιον] is in any case the only possible restoration. Even if [Σφήττιον] is read, line 53 has a greater number of letter spaces to the left of the line of reference than any other, and [Προσπάλτιον] would make it yet longer by four letters, a complete impossibility. Likewise in lines 34-5, [Προσπάλ]τι[ον] is not only not the sole possible restoration, but it is a very much less likely one than [Σφήτ]τι[ον]. The following approximate representations make this self-evident.³

Η ΒΟΥΛΗ	Η ΒΟΥΛΗ
Τ Ο Ν Γ Ρ Α Μ	Τ Ο Ν Γ Ρ Α Μ
Μ Α Τ Ε Α Α Π	Μ Α Τ Ε Α Α Π
Ο Λ Λ Ο Δ Ω Ρ Ο Ν	Ο Λ Λ Ο Δ Ω Ρ Ο Ν
Ξ Φ Η Τ Τ Ι	Π Ρ Ο Ξ Π Α Λ Τ Ι
Ο Ν	Ο Ν

As a result of this change in the demotic of the secretary it becomes probable that Σφήττιοι followed Ἑρμειοι in the first (missing) column of the list of prytanes. The identification of Apollophanes and

¹ Cf. above p. 246. The present writer called the attention of S. Dow to the impossible length of Προσπάλτιον as a restoration in l. 53 of the Acamantid decree. The other objections to this demotic are due to Mr Dow, who also suggested the correct restoration.

² 'Probalinthos' is due to a *lapsus calami*: see his text of the inscription.

³ The spacing of the letters in each line is based upon the photographs; ΗΒΟΥΛΗ is noticeably compressed in the preserved citations, with the obvious object of conforming the inscriptions to the circular outline of the wreaths.

Asclepiades in column 3 is not certain, and although the two names cannot both be found together in any other deme of Acamantis, this does not prove conclusively that they were Sphettians. But they may have been: Dow (*Pryt.* pp. 14-5) has pointed out that there are exceptions to the principle that the treasurer's deme was placed first and the secretary's second.

2. *The Priests of the Eponymi*

TRIBAL AFFILIATIONS OF THE PRIESTS OF THE EPONYMI

Priests belonging to the tribe of the eponymus

priest of:	priest's deme:	date:	source:
Pandion	Paiania	386/5	<i>IG II²</i> 1140
Pandion	Cytherus	ca. 340	2828
Pandion	Myrrhinus	155/4	<i>Pryt.</i> 84
Ajax	Aphidna	229-7	28
Antiochus	Pallene	169/8	71
Aegeus	Colonus	161/0	75
Leos	Eupyridae	ca. 160	77

Priests not belonging to the tribe of the eponymus

Hippothon	Gargettus (Aegeis)	* { ante 178/7	60
		178/7	64
		176-69	<i>Hesp.</i> 1940 p. 118
Acamas	Aphidna (Ptolemais)	223/2	116
Cecrops	Potamus†	ca. 215	<i>Pryt.</i> 31

Partial but uncertain evidence on affiliation

Leos	Potamus†	212/1	36
Leos	E[upyridae?] (Leontis)	185/4	54
Hippothon	[Gargettus]‡ (Aegeis)	165-50	<i>Hesp.</i> 1940 p. 123

* Thrasippus son of Callias in all three cases.

† Divided deme: in both Leontis and Antigonis.

‡ Callias, probably son of the Thrasippus above.

Both Dow and Pritchett failed to notice in their discussion of the priests of the eponymi that there is some evidence in addition to the prytany decrees. This oversight led them to the false assumption that these priesthoods were not created until the latter half of the third century, and in addition is responsible for some erroneous conclusions concerning the 'irregularities' in the tribal affiliations of the priests.

Three relevant documents of the fourth century are extant, all of them older than the first mention of these priests in the prytany decrees. Two of these documents are listed in the table above. The third, the most interesting and important of all, is a decree of Erechtheis regulating its tribal cult (below p. 255 n. 4). The other tribes, too, undoubtedly had the power to regulate their own cults,¹ and consequently the customs or regulations of each individual tribe must be determined before any generalizations are made about the rules usual in all the tribes during a given period.

The only three 'irregularities' will be seen to have occurred in Acamantis, Cecropis, and Hippothontis. It is entirely accidental that in these tribes the only priests of the eponymi whose tribal affiliations are known held office at times between the years 223 and 169. A hypothesis that in any particular tribe priests from outside were more common in this period than in another would require at least three documents *on that one tribe*: one from this period showing an outsider as priest, and one before and one after this period showing priests who were members. And to conclude that in all the tribes outsiders might hold the priesthood during this period would require similar sets of documents for several tribes at least. But no such evidence exists, and there is no reason whatever to believe either that the admission of non-members to the office of priest was peculiar to this period, or that it ever occurred in all the tribes, or that it was an 'irregularity' at all.² Those tribes which permitted outsiders to hold the office on the only known occasions may have permitted this always, and those

¹ As well as the authority to regulate its own cult, each tribe had private revenues to support it. The epimeletae of Aeantis collected 2000 dr. a year, a third of it from each trittys (*Hesp.* 1936, 402 ll. 159-85; cf. Ferguson *Hesp.* 1938, 13. 2), and this money was used for the cult of the hero: notice *ιερόν ἀργύριον* (l. 162) and *τὸ ἱερόν ἀργύριον τοῦ Αἴαντος* (l. 179). The expenses of the tribal cult of Erechtheus were paid with the rents of lands owned by the tribe in Attica (*IG* II² 1165); Antiochis and perhaps other tribes too had lots for this purpose on Lemnos (*SEG* III 117; cf. Hypereid. *Eux.* 16-7); and Pandion's cult was supported in part by funds which the tribe lent at interest in Samos (*Ath. Mitt.* 1926, 36 no. 5). These funds of the eponymi are mentioned in [Dem.] 58. 14: *ἐάν τις ὀφείλῃ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ ἢ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν ἢ τῶν ἐπωνύμων τῷ*; cf. Dem. 43. 58. The eponymi not only had these separate revenues, but they also owned in common a piece of land on Samos (*RE* 'Samos' 2200. 27 = *IG* I² p. 284. 89: 5th cent.) and may have had similar properties elsewhere.

² If it was really an irregularity peculiar to a certain period, an explanation of the cause would be in order, but none has been suggested.

tribes whose only known priests were members may never have admitted those who were not.

Why should such a difference have existed? The various tribes might, it is true, have simply decided on varying regulations. But the office of priest seems so intimately connected with the individuality of the tribe he served that no-one could fail to be astonished if even only one tribe had passed such a regulation.¹ A better explanation is at hand.

The sanctuary of Hippothoon and tribal *κοινόν* of Hippothontis was situated, not at Athens, where one would expect to find it and where the sanctuaries of all the other eponymi were located, but at Eleusis.² Instead of founding a new shrine for its hero, the tribe must have made use of an already existing Hippothontium, just as Aeantis is known to have adopted a sanctuary already in use by the *genos* of the Salaminii (below). The priest who performed the rites in this Hippothontium before the time of Cleisthenes must have held his office from some *genos*, and this gentile office continued to exist in later times, for no merely tribal priest of relatively recent creation could have received money for a *πελανός* from the sacred funds of the Mystery cults.³ The priest of the eponymus of Hippothontis not only was not a member of the tribe, but held office for more than one year, probably for life, and seems to have been succeeded in at least one case by his son. This is exactly what would be normal in a gentile priesthood but most improbable in a purely public office. Thus it is virtually certain that when Hippothontis found itself in need of a cult for its hero it did precisely what the state did for the vast majority of its rites: it adopted an established gentile cult.

The *ἱερόν* of Cecrops and *κοινόν* of Cecropis was located on the

¹ Cf. Beloch's remarks on tribal elections (for a different office): *Att. Politik* 279.

² A sanctuary of Hippothoon at Eleusis: Paus. I 38. 4. Its use as the *κοινόν* of the tribe is proved by the finding of the tribal decrees at Eleusis: *IG* II² 1149, 1153, to which 1142 should certainly be added because of its provenience. The only decree of the tribe found at Athens (1163) contains a clause specifying that it should be set up there as well as in the Hippothontium.

³ *IG* II² 1672. 290; cf. Dittenberger *Syll.*² 587 n. 196. The ancient connection of Hippothoon with the Mystery cults is also indicated by Herodian II 311. 33 Lentz.

acropolis (*IG II² 1141. 7*; cf. provenience of 1143, 1145, 1156, 1158). This was a distinction which would certainly have been coveted by all the tribes, but which was granted to only three of them.¹ It is a clear indication of the adoption of an already existing sanctuary. Since the most important and perhaps the only priesthood of the *genos* of the Amyndridae was that of Cecrops,² and especially since their gentile documents were set up in the Cecropium on the acropolis (provenience of *IG II² 2338*), it is certain that the Cecropium on the acropolis belonged to them. And since the priest of the eponymus of Cecropis was not, or at least not always, a member of the tribe, it can safely be concluded that the tribe had adopted the gentile priesthood along with the sanctuary.

The same theory explains the presence of an outsider as priest of Acamas. Although no evidence of a gentile cult of this hero is preserved, there were scores of such cults of which no record survives.

Aristotle affirms that Cleisthenes left the priesthoods in the hands of those who had traditionally possessed them.³ The practice in the cases just discussed makes it evident that not only were the *gene* not deprived of their *ιερά*, but, ordinarily, competing cults were not established. It is very likely that the tribes whose rites were performed by gentile priests purchased their victims with their own funds, as the state did in some, or more probably all, of the cases where it adopted a gentile cult (cf. above pp. 238 and nn. 4-5, 239).

Why, then, were not all of the priests of the *eponymi* gentile? It may be accidental that some of the tribes appear to have restricted their priesthoods to their own members, for the holder of a gentile priesthood might perfectly well have been a member of the tribe whose eponymus he served.⁴ In five tribes, however, none of the known

¹ For the other two, Erechtheis and Pandionis, see below.

² This priest is the only one mentioned, with the archon and treasurer of the *genos*, in the great catalogue *IG II² 2338*.

³ *Resp. A. 21. 6*: τὰς ἱερωσύνας εἶασεν ἔχειν ἐκάστους κατὰ τὰ πάτρια. ταῖς δὲ φυλαῖς ἐποίησεν ἐπωνύμους ἐκ τῶν προκριθέντων ἑκατὸν ἀρχηγετῶν οὓς ἀνείλεν ἡ Πυθία δέκα. In view of the other evidence the juxtaposition of the two phrases might be considered significant, although of course no argument can be based on such a premise.

⁴ E.g., the *genos* of the Amyndridae, from whom the priest of Cecrops was taken, contained members of Cecropis: *IG II² 2338. 58*.

priests was an outsider, and in one of these tribes three priests, each of a different deme, are recorded over a space of more than two centuries. It is impossible to attribute all of these cases to chance.

Certain tribes had non-gentile cults because no gentile cult of their hero existed. No *genos* worshipped Ajax. The Salaminii had a sanctuary and priest of his son Eurysaces, and the tribe made use of the sanctuary as its *κοινόν* (*Hesp.* 1938, 95 no. 15 l. 33; Ferguson *ib.* 17-8), but the priest of Eurysaces was not priest of Ajax,¹ and the tribe was forced to create a special office. Nor does Leos seem to have had any pre-Cleisthenic worship in Athens: to whomever the Leocoreum may have originally been dedicated, in classical times it was held sacred to Leos' daughters (Kock *RE* 'Leokorion' 2000. 56). Besides the one priest of Leos definitely known to have belonged to Leontis, the most likely interpretation and restoration of the demotics of the other two make them members of the tribe, and hence it is practically certain that Leontis had a non-gentile cult restricted to its own members.² Aegeis and Antiochis likewise seem to have had non-gentile cults, and there again the most probable explanation is that gentile cults of the two heroes did not exist.³

Erechtheus, however, was worshipped together with Poseidon in the famous cult of the Eteobutad *genos*; and yet the fact that Erechtheis could pass a decree concerning the priest of its eponymus⁴ shows

¹ Those priests of the *genos* who held priesthoods of more than one deity had them listed in their titles, but the priest of Eurysaces had no other designation.

² The tribe may possibly have used the Leocoreum as its *κοινόν*, for the Leocoreum was located near the north entrance to the agora (Judeich *Τοπος*,² 338), and the one extant decree of the tribe was found in the agora (*Hesp.* 1940, 62-3 no. 8). The decree, however, refers to the tribal shrine as τῶι ἐ[ρ]ῶι [τοῦ] ἡρώ. - - : cf. the decree of Aeantis which names its shrine specifically as the Eurysaceum (*Hesp.* 1938, 95 no. 15 l. 33). There is no evidence whatever on the cult of Leos' daughters.

³ For the refutation of Töpffer's theory of a gentile cult of Aegeus, see above p. 237 n. 1. A shrine of Aegeus at Athens is mentioned (Paus. I 22. 5; *Harp. Αἰγείον*), but without any indication of its age or ownership.

⁴ *IG II² 1146*: Φίλων ἐῖπεν· ἰ[ερᾶσθαι τῶι Ποσειδῶνι] καὶ τῶι Ἑρε[χθεὶ τὸν ἱερέα τὸν αἰεῖ]| λαχόντα τύχ[ηι ἀγαθῇ τῆς βολῆς καὶ]| τοῦ δήμο το[ῦ] Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῆς φυλῆς]| τῆς Ἑρεχθίδ[ος - - -]| πάτρια καὶ κα[- - -]|ε (cf. Ziehen *Legg. sac.* II p. 85 *ad* l. 7) ταῦρον καὶ τ[- - -]| γίγνεται ἐκ τ[- - -]| δὲ καὶ τὸν ὑπὲ[ρ - - -]| ἐν τῇ ἐπιθέτω[ι θυσίαι - - -]| . . . ἐπιμελητ[- - -]| κατα[- - -].

that its cult was not gentile. But what exactly is the significance of this decree? Clearly, it is the act of creation of the non-gentile priesthood. At some time in the first half of the fourth century the tribe became dissatisfied with the performance of its rites by the Eteobutad priest and decided to have a priest of its own. Probably at this same time or just before the members added the *ἐπιθετος θυσία*, and it may have been a dispute over the introduction of this novel rite into the traditional ceremonies which led to the break with the *genos*. The earlier combination of the cult of the eponymus with the Eteobutad cult of Poseidon Erechtheus explains why the independent priesthood of the tribe was dedicated, not to the eponymus alone, but to Poseidon too. Even after the separation of the tribal and gentile cults the tribe continued to use the Erechtheum on the acropolis as its *κοινόν* (provenience of *IG II² 1165*).

The fact that the three known priests of Pandion, although each of a different deme, were all members of Pandionis renders it beyond any doubt that the cult was non-gentile. Yet it was one of the three tribal cults practised in a sanctuary on the acropolis (*IG II² 1144, 1148, 1152*), and as has been said this is a sure indication of a pre-Cleisthenic gentile cult. The gentile cult may have ceased to be celebrated before the time of Cleisthenes, either through extinction of the *genos* or for some other reason. Or else the history of Pandion's cult was similar to that of Erechtheus', and at some time before the earliest recorded priest (386) the tribe had broken with the *genos* and had established a priesthood of its own.

Thus as was natural the new tribes from the date of their creation honored their eponymous heroes with sacrifice and ritual. If the hero was already worshipped in 507 by a *genos*, the tribe adopted the gentile cult with the sanctuary in which it was celebrated, probably buying its own victims and perhaps paying a subsidy to the *genos* in compensation for the incidental expenses of the rites. These gentile priests might or might not be members of the tribe whose eponymus they served; they probably held office for life, the usual rule for gentile priests. But when no gentile cult of its hero existed, although the tribe might adopt the sanctuary of a related divinity, it was compelled to establish a special priesthood. This office was restricted to members of the tribe, and was probably held for the term of a year. Finally, the

number of these special priesthoods was augmented by one or two tribes who for some reason became dissatisfied with the performance of their rites by the gentile priests and established a tribal priesthood, although they continued to use the gentile shrine.

IV

THE PRIESTESS OF ATHENA NIKE

IG I² 24

in lapide supra coniuncto

[- - - ἐγραμμάτευε]

[- - - ἐπρυτάνευε]

in lapide conservato

[ἔδοχσεν τῇ βολεῇ καὶ τῷ]ι [δέ]μο[ι, . . .]

[. . . ἐπεστάτε, Πιππών]ικος εἶπε· [τῇ]

5

[Ἀθηναίαι τῇ Νί]κει χιέρεαν ἡ ἐ[στέ]

[ἔχσ ἀστὸν ἐστ]ι (?) ἔχσ Ἀθηναίων ἡπα[σδ]

[ν καθίστα]σθαι· κτλ.

Ed. Kavvadhias 1-2 Dow 3 Prott 4 [ἐπεστατε] Dinsmoor || [ἡππον] Körte: [Γλα]υκος West 1-4 [ἐδοχσεν τει βολεῖ καὶ τοι δεμοι, - - - ἐπρυτανευεν, - - - ἐγραμμάτευεν, - - - ἐπεστατε, -]κος Ka 3-4 [- - - ἐγραμμάτε]υ[εν], Mo[ιραγ|ενες κτλ.] Hiller 5 κ: \ Roebuck 5-6 α[στε - εστ]ι Nock: α[ν αστε εχσ αστον ε]ι Ka: α[ν δια βιο χιέρατα]ι Ziehen 6-7 [σον καθιστα] Z: [ντον χαιρει] P 7 σθ P.

The anathyrosis and the dowel-holes on the preserved upper edge of the stone on which this decree is preserved show clearly that another stone was attached above it. Dinsmoor (*AJA* 1923, 319-20) has demonstrated by architectural considerations that the lost upper stone was not a pediment but an additional piece added on to increase the height of the stele. To his architectural arguments he added another, drawn from the nature of the preserved text. The introductory formula,¹ he said, is incomplete. The *orator* is named, but of the prytany, secretary, and epistates, only one can be restored in the space avail-

¹ As published by Prott in the *Leges sacrae*; see the apparatus criticus above.

able. The only possible explanation of this lack, according to Dinsmoor, is that the preserved text is only an amendment, passed in the same prytany but on a later day than the original decree, so that it was necessary to give only the epistates, the prytany and the secretary remaining the same. From this he concludes that the upper stone carried the original decree.

It is difficult to believe that an amendment could come to be published on a stone spliced under the original decree. The Athenians had no concept of or word for an 'amendment' as such. Any change in a decree was either made before the decree was passed by the Assembly and incorporated in the original motion prefaced simply by the words $\delta\ \delta\epsilon\iota\nu\alpha\ \epsilon\iota\pi\epsilon$, which in the fifth century were only occasionally followed by the formula $\tau\grave{\alpha}\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\ \kappa\alpha\theta\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\rho\ \tau\eta\ \beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\eta\eta$; or else, if it was passed after the original motion, it was considered simply as an independent but related decree. There are a number of examples of Athenian practice in inscribing such related decrees: they were put on the back of the stele containing the original act, not spliced under it. That is what certainly would have been done with I² 24 if it had really been an amendment; it is exactly what *was* done with I² 25, which was later cut on the back of I² 24. Further, Dinsmoor's theory does not explain the formula satisfactorily: being legally a separate act, one would expect repetition of the full formula, which certainly must have been present in the minute taken at the meeting of the Assembly by the secretary. $\epsilon\delta\omicron\chi\epsilon\nu\ \tau\eta\ \beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\eta\eta\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\hat{\omega}\ \delta\acute{\eta}\mu\omega$, although according to Dinsmoor's theory logically no more necessary than the prytany and the secretary, was inscribed. His view must, then, be rejected unless no other means of explaining or denying the absence of the prytany and the secretary can be found.

Hiller (in *IG*²) chose to deny the irregularity: returning to Kavvadhias' assumption of two or three lines of text on the upper stone, he managed to fit the three new letters read by Prott into the normal formula. This course, however, does not take account of the fact that in Prott's restoration the phrase $\epsilon\delta\omicron\chi\epsilon\nu$, etc., keyed in place by the remains of three letters, exactly filled the first line on the lower stone to the left-hand corner. This is very strong *prima facie* evidence for the correctness of the restoration. But how, then, can the defective formula be explained? The almost certainly correct answer has been

given by Sterling Dow, who has been kind enough to discuss this inscription with me at length. The names of the secretary and the prytany appeared in rubric form below the relief on the upper stone.¹ Either an already existing relief was used for the top, or else one stone-cutter set to work on the relief and rubrics while another cut the text.

Scholars have always thought that this text is the record of the creation of the priesthood of Athena Nike. The provisions it contains, however, are not such as one would expect to find in a document of that sort. The details necessary for the Assembly or the magistrates to proceed to the choice of the priestess are simply not given.² Of what age must she be? When was the selection to take place? For what term was she to hold office? ³ Was she to be elected or chosen by the lot? ⁴

Clearly this decree cannot have created the priesthood: it merely reorganized one which already existed.⁵ Previously a restricted number of persons had been eligible to the office; now any Athenian woman — under the same restrictions of age, celibacy or married state, etc.,

¹ Examples of the secretary in this position are common: *IG* I² 22 and 31 are both before 446. The prytany in this position is rare but possible: I² 78, dated between 431 and 421 by the letter forms.

² That such specifications were normally given in the acts creating new offices has been shown by Bannier, *BPW* 1918, 96.

³ The need for an answer to this question was felt so strongly by Ziehen ('hoc quia vix desiderari poterat') that he proposed (*Legg. sac.* II p. 48) to restore $\eta \tilde{\alpha}[\nu \delta\iota\alpha \beta\lambda\omicron\nu \iota\epsilon\rho\tilde{\alpha}\tau\alpha]\iota$. This is satisfactory epigraphically, but it is definitely not the grammatical form required, which would be η (or $\eta\tau\iota\varsigma$) $\delta\iota\alpha \beta\lambda\omicron\nu \iota\epsilon\rho\tilde{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$. The form with the subjunctive is universally used in the inscriptions and in other documents to refer to *whatever person may hold* an office at the time when a certain action is to take place. And in any case, the Athenians of the middle of the fifth century would scarcely have provided that a newly created office should be held for life.

⁴ Prott's suggestion to restore $[\eta\alpha\rho\epsilon\tilde{\iota}]\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ is impossible because of the false spelling.

⁵ The rest of this same inscription shows that the sanctuary of Athena Nike already existed on this same site but that at the time this decree was passed it was a poor and rude precinct, without a gate, and with a makeshift altar: Kavvadhias *'Eφ.* 1897, 181, 184; Furtwängler *SBMün.* 1898, I 382-3. These inferences have been completely confirmed by the results of the recent excavations: Welter *Arch. Anz.* 1939, 9-14.

as had prevailed before — could be chosen provided that she was of citizen parents on both sides.¹ Of whom the restricted group from which the priestess was formerly chosen consisted is not known, but the most likely possibility is that it was one of the higher census classes. Such reforms were in the spirit of the age; in 457, for example, the requirements for the archonship had been lowered to admit the *zeugitae* (Arist. *Resp. A.* 26. 2). It is improbable that the priesthood had formerly belonged to a *genos*, as there is not a single case known where a *genos* was deprived of its traditional cults: if the state took an interest in them, it merely supervised, subsidized, and controlled.

¹ Kavvadhias (*o.c.* 179, 185) cites as parallel to his restoration *Syll.*³ 1015. 6 (Halicarnassus, state cult) and compares *inter alia* *ib.* 1106. 144 (*ιερά* founded by the will of Diomedon, Cos). It seems still more likely at Athens at this time, ca. 450 B.C., when one remembers Pericles' famous bill of 451 B.C. restricting the citizenship generally to these same conditions: Arist. *Resp. A.* 26. 4; cf. Busolt *G.G.* III i 338. 3. Attention should be called, however, to the epigraphical difficulties with this restoration: they are apparent in the photograph published by Kavvadhias *o.c.* pl. 11 = O. Kern *Inscriptiones graecae* (Bonnae, 1913), pl. 14, and Mr Carl Roebuck has kindly sent squeezes which confirm the impression given by the photograph. To the right of the last preserved letter of l. 5 (Α) enough stone is preserved so that, if the following letter was exactly alined on its normal axis, it can only have been an Ι; the shape of the break makes the letters Α, Λ, and Δ the next most likely. The author has been unable to find any restoration beginning with Ι, and has accepted Professor Nock's suggestion as slightly more conformant with the space than that of Kavvadhias.

CLAUDIUS SOTER EUERGETES

BY VINCENT M. SCRAMUZZA

IN a proclamation to the communities of Asia the proconsul Paullus Fabius Persicus declares that in administering his province he is trying to follow "the example of the most powerful and just lord [Claudius], who, taking the whole human race under his personal care, has among his first and most pleasing benevolences vouchsafed that every man shall receive his due."¹ In complete agreement with Persicus' statement, epigraphy shows that Claudius made the provinces a special object of his care and that he had a sympathetic understanding of the political aspirations of his subjects. It shows something else besides, the provincials' appreciation of the benefits he conferred upon them. As a general rule, no other Julio-Claudian Emperor, with the exception of Augustus who reigned three times as long, is represented in the known epigraphical collections as copiously as Claudius. Few other Emperors built as many roads as he. Narbonese Gaul, Spain, Lusitania, Gaul, Britain, the Rhineland, Switzerland, the Danube Valley, Dalmatia, Pontus, Asia, Lycia and Pamphylia, Crete, Sardinia, and Egypt were the chief beneficiaries.² Sardis in Asia (*CIL* III 409 = *IGRR* IV 1505) and Lamasba in Numidia (*CIL* VIII 4440, *Eph. Epigr.* VII 788) received aqueducts. The city of Cibra in Lycia (*IGRR* IV 902) and the nome of Oxyrhynchus in Egypt (*CIL* III 6024, 47-48 A.D.) were presented with constructions of an unspecified nature.

Several works were built in honor of the Emperor by imperial legates or procurators, municipal officials, private individuals and com-

¹ R. Heberdey *Forschungen in Ephesos* II 112 ff.; J. Keil *Jahresh. österr. Inst.* XXIII (1926) 282 ff.; M. Rostovtzeff, *Storia economica e sociale dell' impero rom.* (Firenze, 1933), I ch. iii n. 2; A. Momigliano, *Claudius, the Emperor and his Achievement* (Oxford, 1934), 72. And see Fr. K. Dörner, *Der Erlass des Statthalters von Asia Paullus Fabius Persicus* (Greifswald, 1935), 13, 17.

² Cf. V. M. Scramuzza, *The Emperor Claudius* (Cambridge, Mass., 1940), 161-165. For the Spanish road between Osca and Ilerda, add a new inscription, *Ann. épigr.* 1923, 13. For the roads of Crete, add *IGRR* I 1014.

munities, sometimes from imperial funds but more often from their own resources. We know of porticos in Salona (Dalmatia) (*CIL* III 1947=Dessau *ILS* 219, 54 A.D.), Sidyma (Lycia) (*IGRR* III 578), Magnesia ad Sipylum (Lydia) (*IGRR* IV 1332), and Troy (*CIG* 3610=*IGRR* IV 208), of an aqueduct in Kassaba (Lydia) (*CIG* 3454=*IGRR* IV 1491), baths in Miletus (*Ann. épigr.* 1909, 136), benches in Aegae (*IGRR* IV 1179) and Magnesia ad Sipylum (*IGRR* IV 1331), a peribolion in Egypt (Abydos?) (*IGRR* I 1161, Jan. 30, 49 A.D.), arches in Thugga (*CIL* VIII 1478, and *Ann. épigr.* 1914, 173, 41 A.D.) and Cyzicus (Mysia) (*CIL* III 7061), and an undefined construction in Castulo (Tarraconensis) (*CIL* II 3269).

Claudius accorded substantial privileges to several classes of provincials. The people of Istro (Histropolis) in Lower Moesia were granted free fishing rights on the Danube delta (*Ann. épigr.* 1919, 10). Byzantium, impoverished by the war against Mithradates, was exempted from taxes for a period of five years (*Tac. Ann.* XII 63. 3). So was Apamea in Phrygia when it was devastated by an earthquake (*ibid.* XII 58. 2). Troy was exempted in perpetuity (*ibid.* XII 58. 1; *Suet. Cl.* 25. 3). Provincial towns and rural districts were freed from the more odious exactions of the Postal Service (*CIL* III 7251=Dessau *ILS* 214, *IG* V ii p. 5, see also *CIG* 4956), a group of priests in Egypt were exempted from *corvées* (*IGRR* I 1118), and the lessees of some imperial estates also in Egypt had their burdens reduced (*CIG* 4957=*IGRR* I 1253). Rhodes was reinstated in the exercise of its former home rule (51 A.D., *IG* XII i 2, and p. 206=*IGRR* IV 1123, *Suet. Cl.* 25. 3, *Nero* 7. 2; *Tac. Ann.* XII 58. 2). A band of Pyrrhic dancers (*Dio* LX 17. 2) and the high priest of a religious association with his daughters (*Greek Papyri in the British Museum* III (1907), 1178 vv. 16-31=M. P. Charlesworth, *Documents Illustrating the Reigns of Claudius and Nero* (Cambridge, 1939), no. 8) were enfranchised.

The Emperor's policy of cultivating the good will of his subjects may be seen too in the respects he paid to the Delphic Apollo (*Ditt. Syll.*³ 801 D=Charlesworth *Documents* 10), his grant of land to the temple of Aesculapius in Cnossus (*CIL* III 14377), his offering of flowers to two Egyptian gods (*IGRR* I 1165=*Ditt. OGI* II 663), his confirmation of the privileges of certain Dionysiac artisans and athletes (*BGU* 1074; Wilcken *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* IV (1908) pp. 563-

565; *Gr. Pap. Brit. Mus.* III 1178; *Ann. épigr.* 1914, 210; Charlesworth *Documents* 6-9), his reply to a religious association in Asia (*Ann. épigr.* 1908, 190, vv. 15-21 = *IGRR* IV 1608 b = Charlesworth *Documents* 12) which had erected a monument in his honor (*Ann. épigr.* 1908, 190 vv. 1-14 = *IGRR* IV 1608 a), and his confirmation of the privileges of the Jews (*Jos. AJ* XIX 280-285, 286-291).

Of greater consequence were the enfranchising grants based on principles of humanity and equity or on the recognition of faithful service. Exposed slaves were *ipso facto* raised to the rank of *Latini Iuniani* (*Suet. Cl.* 25. 2; *Dio* LX 29. 7; *Cod. Iust.* VII 6. 1. 3, *Dig.* XL 8. 2). The Anauni and other Alpine tribes were confirmed in the enjoyment of the Roman franchise even though *de iure* they were not entitled to it (*CIL* V 5050 = Dessau *ILS* 206 = Bruns *Fontes*⁷ 79 = Charlesworth *Documents* 4). Holders of the *ius Latii* who would engage, under prescribed conditions, in the importation of wheat into Italy were given the Roman franchise (*Ulp.* III 6; *Gaius* I 32c). Service in the *auxilia* continued to be rewarded as before with the grant of citizenship, and for the first time service in the fleet was given the same recognition as that in the *auxilia* (*CIL* III p. 844, XVI 1).¹ Finally it was Claudius who decided once for all that citizenship in the provinces must not be allowed to lapse into an inferior brand, deprived of those honors to which citizens in Italy were entitled. Against strong Italian opposition he did not hesitate to grant membership in the Senate to certain Gallic chieftains, distinguished for birth, wealth, and loyalty to Rome (*CIL* XIII 1668 = Dessau *ILS* 212 = Bruns *Fontes*⁷ 52 = Charlesworth *Documents* 5; *Tac. Ann.* XI 23-25. 1).²

Small wonder that the provincials wrote their gratitude to so generous an Emperor in hundreds of inscriptions. Dedications promoted or subscribed to by his legates may or may not represent the genuine

¹ For grants of citizenship to veterans of the *auxilia*, cf. *CIL* XVI 2, 3; *Ann. épigr.* 1930, 70 a-b.

² Incidentally the northeast corner of Italy had reason to be thankful for Claudius' generosity to Gaul, for in the same *lectio Senatus* the Emperor called to the *Curia* a gentleman from this neglected section (*CIL* V 3117, cf. 2088). For dedicatory inscriptions in honor of Claudius in the frontier town of Pola, cf. *CIL* V 24, 25 (46 A.D.). For dedications in the Alpine districts of Asolo (Lombardy) and Val Camonica (Piedmont), cf. *CIL* V 2088, 4961.

sentiments of the subjects.¹ More significant for our purpose are the testimonials of private individuals which we meet all over the Empire: at Cabeza del Griego (Tarraconensis) (*CIL* II 3105), in four towns of Baetica, that is, Ugultuniacum (*CIL* II 1027), Epora (*CIL* II 2158, 43-44 A.D.), Ipsca (*CIL* II 1569, 46 A.D.), and Ipagrum (*CIL* II 1518, 47 A.D.; 1519, 48 A.D.), in Numidia (*Ann. épigr.* 1922, 109), Pannonia (*CIL* III 4591, 53-54 A.D.), Dalmatia (*CIL* III 2942), Thrace (*Ann. épigr.* 1928, 150), Athens (*IG* II² 3275), Megara (*IG* VII 67), Epidaurus (*IG* IV² i 602), Pisidia (*IGRR* III 344 = *CIL* III 6871), Syria (*IGRR* III 1083 = *CIG* 4526), Egypt (*IGRR* 1115, 1165 = Ditt. *OGI* II 663, 1261), and several places in Asia (*IGRR* IV 329, 551, 559, 898, 899, 1023; *CIL* III 6060).² Dedications are set up *pro salute et victoria* of the Emperor (Narbo) (*CIL* XII 4334, 43 A.D., year of the British expedition), to his ἀγαθὴ τύχη (Athens) (*IG* III 1080-1), and to celebrate his victory, ν{ε}ίκη (Athens) (*IG* III 1083). From one of his letters (*Gr. Pap. Brit. Mus.* III 1178 vv. 8-15 = Charlesworth *Documents* 7) we learn of a gold crown sent him on the occasion of his triumph.³ Of special interest are three dedicatory inscriptions *ex testamento*, one in 49 A.D. at Nabrisa Veneria (Baetica) (*CIL* II 1302), another after Claudius' death in the neighborhood of Arles (*CIL* XII 641), and the third in Alexandria Troas (*CIL* III 381). They may be tokens of privileges received, certainly they are not compliments in the expectation of favors. In this category should be placed also the bequest of Claudius Polyaeus of Prusa in Bithynia (*Pl. Ad Tr.* 70 [75]. 2, 71 [76]).

The Hellenistic East, accustomed to flatter its rulers, lavished upon Claudius more extravagant praises than any found in the West. He is called σωτήρ τὰς οἰκουμένας at Eresus in Lesbos (*IGRR* IV 12 = *IG* XII ii 541), εὐεργέτης in Sidyma (*IGRR* III 579), εὐεργέτης τῆς πόλεως in Athens (*IG* II² 5173-6). Rhodes testifies to his εὐνοία (*IGRR* IV 1123 = *IG* XII i 2), Aezani to his πρόνοια (*IGRR* IV 584). Reverence (εὐσέβεια) for him is expressed at Abydus (Egypt) (*IGRR* I 1161), in Clazomenae (*IGRR* IV 1550) and somewhere else in Asia (*Gr. Pap.*

¹ For Galatia, cf. *CIL* III 288; for Dalmatia, *CIL* III 1977, 14087¹ (51-52 A.D.).

² For a dedication in honor of Messalina in the Rhodian city of Lindus, cf. *IGRR* IV 1146 = *IG* XII i 806.

³ For other gold crowns, cf. *Plin. NH* XXXIII 54.

Brit. Mus. III 1178=Charlesworth *Documents* 7), and for his house in Mytilene (*IGRR* IV 43=*IG* XII ii 63), Alexandria (P. Lond. 1912=Charlesworth *Documents* 2), and other places (*Ann. épigr.* 1914, 210=Charlesworth *Documents* 9).

He is worshipped as god in Larisa (Greece) (*IG* IX ii 606), Seleucia Sidera (Pisidia) (*IGRR* III 328), Sidyma (*IGRR* III 577), and Alexandria (P. Lond. 1912=Charlesworth *Documents* 1-2), and as *θεὸς σωτὴρ καὶ εὐεργέτης* in Aezani (*IGRR* IV 584). A temple is dedicated in Regnum (Chichester, Britain) *pro salute domus divinae* (*CIL* VII 11), and another in Camulodunum (Colchester) (Tac. *Ann.* XIV 31.6; Sen. *Apoc.* 8.3; for other temples, see Scramuzza, *op. cit.* 248 n. 18).

Towns and organized communities take up the refrain. The senate and people of Hippo Regius (Numidia) set up a tablet in his honor (*Ann. épigr.* 1935, 32, 42-43 A.D.). The *boule* and *demos* of Athens (*Ann. épigr.* 1929, 74, 42 A.D.), the people of Lindus (Λίνδιοι) (*IGRR* IV 1145=*IG* XII i 805), and the *demos* of Halasarna (Cos) (*IGRR* IV 1099) proclaim him *σωτὴρ καὶ εὐεργέτης*. The *demos* of Myra in Lycia speaks of him as *πάτρων καὶ εὐεργέτης* (*IGRR* III 717). The *demos* of Samos names him *νέος κτίστης* or new founder (*IGRR* IV 1711) for his help when their city was destroyed by an earthquake (47 A.D.). The *demos* of Cibyra too salutes him as *κτίστης τῆς πόλεως* (*IGRR* IV 902, cf. 914). The *demos* of Thera in the Aegean calls him *μέγιστος καὶ κράτιστος* (*IG* XII iii 1395, see also *IG* XII iii 473). The *demos* of Pergae calls him *πατὴρ πατρίδος* (*IGRR* III 788), probably to be understood as father of Pergae, in gratitude for his reconstruction of the adjacent roads (*CIL* III 6737, 50 A.D.). The *demos* or *polis* of Rhodes thanks him for giving them back their ancestral freedom (*IGRR* IV 1123=*IG* XII i 2). The *demos* of Aezani celebrates games in his honor (*IGRR* IV 583-4). The *demos* of Larisa proclaims him god (*IG* IX 605). He is honored by the *demos* of a Boeotian town (*IG* VII 2493), that of Minoa in the Island of Amorgos (*IG* XII vii 265), that of Antimachia in the Island of Cos (*IGRR* IV 1103), that of Sardis (*IGRR* IV 1502=*CIG* 3453), and again by the *boule* and *demos* of Athens (*IG* II² 3268, 3270, 41 A.D.).¹ He is honored by the *polis* of

¹ For a dedication of the *demos* of Sinope in Pontus to Agrippina, see *Ann. épigr.* 1916, 119.

Epidaurus (*IG* IV 1401),¹ that of Lamia (*IG* IX ii 81), that of Curii (Cyprus) (*IGRR* III 971 = *CIG* 2632, 52 A.D.), and by town officials at Cartima (Baetica) (*CIL* II 1953, 53-54 A.D.) and Aezani (*IGRR* IV 558).

The κοινόν of the Achaeans, Phocians, Euboeans, Locrians, and Boeotians greets him as its εὐεργέτης (*IG* VII 2878), and the κοινόν of Asia decrees to celebrate his birthday (*IGRR* IV 1608 c, 41 A.D.). Villages too show their devotion to him, e.g. Tyanollus in Lydia (*IGRR* IV 1332) and one that stood on the site of Kassaba between Smyrna and Sardis (*IGRR* IV 1491 = *CIG* 3454). Nor are groups of Roman citizens in the provinces absent from this roster. In the year of the British expedition the money changers at Mogontiacum (Germany) (*CIL* XIII 6797) and the *conventus civium Romanorum qui in Asia negotiantur* (*Ann. épigr.* 1924, 69) express their good will towards the Emperor.

So spoke the provinces. Their endless eulogy represents something more than the official lingo of the age. It is an appreciation of the Emperor's endeavor towards a just and humane rule. They understood the good intentions of a sovereign who, thwarted though he might be by the greed of officials in his efforts for a clean administration, still held to his objective.² At the other end, in Rome, even the Senate seems to have shared the common belief in the Emperor's concern for the public welfare. In a resolution of 44-46 A.D., aimed at arresting the decay of Italian agriculture, the Senate posits what the provinces already knew — the *providentia optumi principis* (*SC Hosidianum*, *CIL* X 1401 = Dessau *ILS* 6043 = Bruns, *Fontes*⁷ 54 v. 3). Not only that. It also recites that the Emperor is engaged in consolidating the prosperity of Italy *non solum praecepto augustissimo sed etiam exemplo* (*ibid.* v. 5). That was the example which Persicus set out to emulate.

¹ For a dedication of the same city to Agrippina, see *IG* IV 1404.

² *T(iberius) Claudius Caesar Aug(ustus) | G[erm]anicus Pontif(ex) Max(imus) | Trib(unicia) Potest(ate) viiii, Imp(erator) xvi, P(ater) P(atriciae) | dicit: | Cu[m] et colonias et municipia non solum | Ita[lia]e, verum etiam provinciarum, item | civita[tes] cuiusque provinciae lebare oneribus | veh[iculator]um praebendorum saepe tem[plaviss]-em, | [e]t c[um] sati[s] multa remedia invenisse m[ihi] viderer, | p[ro]lu[it] ta[men] nequitiae hominum [non satis per ea occurr]i cras . . . rum aut falsa . . .* (*CIL* III 7251 = *Eph. Epigr.* V 187 = Dessau *ILS* 214; *IG* V ii p. 5; Charlesworth *Documents* 11).

THE ECONOMIC MOTIVE IN THUCYDIDES

BY STANLEY BARNEY SMITH

“. . . and he [i.e. Thucydides] missed altogether the economic forces which underlay so much of both war and politics.”

SHOTWELL: *Introduction to the History of History*, 1922, p. 167.

IN THE present paper an attempt will be made to show whether the historian Thucydides admits the existence of economic motives in the historical process, and, if so, to what extent he recognizes their operation.¹ The term “economic motive” is here used to describe certain direct reactions to the desire for economic advantages or to the want of them. It is also used, almost in the technical sense of economic causation, as a way of referring to the origin of political action in the economic system.

What the individual's response is to the desire for gain is not perhaps important for the present inquiry, though we should remember the immediate connection between Athenian citizens, assembled upon the Pnyx, and the formulation of Athenian public policy. More significant, naturally, is the pursuit of economic advantages by the state. Most interesting, perhaps, is the consideration of the relationship existing between the economic basis of society and the forms which

¹ All references to Thucydides are to the large critical edition by Hude, published by Teubner, vol. 1 in 1898 and vol. 2 in 1901. The Scholia have been consulted in Hude's edition, published by Teubner in 1927. For general discussions of Thucydides and his conception of history see Cornford, *Thucydides Mythistoricus*, 1907; Grundy, *Thucydides and the History of his Age*, 1911; G. Dickins, “The True Cause of the Peloponnesian War,” *Classical Journal*, 1911, pp. 238-248; Lamb, *Clio Enthroned*, 1914; Ferguson, “Economic Causes of Wars in Ancient Greece,” *The Military Historian and Economist*, Vol. I, 1916, pp. 141-152; Bury, *Ancient Greek Historians*, 1909, pp. 75-149; Shotwell, *The History of History*, 1939, pp. 193-213; Abbott, *Thucydides*, 1925; Cochrane, *Thucydides and the Science of History*, 1929; O'Neill, *Ancient Corinth*, Part I, 1930, pp. 195-242; Jaeger, *Paideia*, English translation, 1939, pp. 379-408; Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, IV² 1, 1939, pp. 245-257. The writer wishes here to acknowledge the many helpful suggestions he has received from Professor George H. Sabine, of Cornell University.

political and social acts assume, although Thucydides' understanding of this connection will be found to be relatively simple and immature. In the present essay the writer will raise these questions in dealing with three topics in the history of Thucydides: the issue of war and peace; the problem of imperial and commercial expansion; and the essentially different bases on which the Athenian state and the Peloponnesian Confederacy were supported.

An answer to these questions, if it is to have its full value, ought to show an appreciation of the general validity of economic motives. Accordingly, such an answer will be postponed for the present until we have seen the background against which Thucydides' treatment of economic factors must be viewed. It has been often observed that one of the most striking characteristics of ancient Greek thought was a persistent effort to formulate a conception of the world as governed by law, and to interpret human life in terms of universals.¹ To a wider degree perhaps than even Pindar envisaged, "Law is king of all. . . ." ² At the close of the fifth century B.C., when Thucydides was nearing the end of his life,³ the view had traveled far. It had entered into philosophical speculation and scientific inquiry. It is hardly necessary to suggest, as illustrations of the tendency, the doctrines held by the Milesian School in the sixth century⁴ or by the Atomists in the fifth.⁵ A similar motive lies behind Heraclitus' view that the primary substance was fire, and that the universe was in a constant state of flux.⁶ Different though their approaches to the basic problem were, the four elements of Empedocles,⁷ the *homoimeriai* and *nous* of Anaxagoras,⁸ and the Pythagorean theory of number ⁹ all alike attest the same desire to reduce the world and its processes to terms of law and regularity. And so it was with Socrates' search for

¹ Jaeger *op. cit.* xx-xxii, 35-36, 386. For an opposing view see Cornford *op. cit.* 66-70.

² Pindar fr. 152, ed. Bowra.

³ Thucydides V 26.5; III 116. 2; Diodorus XIV 59. 3.

⁴ See, e.g., Burnet, *Early Greek Philosophy*, 3rd ed., 1920, pp. 39-79.

⁵ Bailey, *The Greek Atomists and Epicurus*, 1928, pp. 64-214.

⁶ Burnet *op. cit.* 130-168.

⁷ *Ibid.* 197-250.

⁸ *Ibid.* 251-275; Bailey *op. cit.* 537-556.

⁹ Burnet *op. cit.* 84-112.

definitions.¹ No instance, however, is perhaps so important for the purpose of the present essay as the general rules laid down for medical diagnosis by Hippocrates and the School of Cos.² For the physician will observe cases and accumulate experience, and on the basis of such evidence he will be able to predict who will survive and who will not.³ From the study of symptoms (τεκμήρια) and other indications (τὰ ἄλλα σημεία) he will also arrive at certain general rules for recognizing and treating disease. Of the many examples which might be cited from the *Aphorisms* only one need be given here. "A restricted and rigid regimen is treacherous, in chronic diseases always, in acute, where it is not called for. Again, a regimen carried to the extreme of restriction is perilous; and in fact repletion too, carried to extremes, is perilous."⁴

In art and literature one may observe the same tendency. The fifth century witnessed the development and perfection of the idealizing movement in sculpture.⁵ Pheidias may be regarded as its symbol. The movement may be considered, in part at least, as the culmination of an effort to produce artistic forms in stone or bronze which should present to the observer types of divine and human beings. Even the portrait bust of Pericles shows idealization. We do not see in it the leader of the tempestuous demos. We should never suspect that the strange shape of his head provoked many jests. We contemplate, rather, the perfect statesman, instructed by Damon of Oa and Anaxagoras, unvexed by the bitterness of conflict or the sorrow of defeat. By the very fact that the serenity of these images transcended what one found on earth, the representations suggested the existence of a higher world,

"Above the smoke and stir of this dim spot
Which men call earth,"

¹ Aristotle *Metaphysics* 987 b 1-5.

² Cochrane *op. cit.* 7-13, 17; Abbott *op. cit.* 19 note 1.

³ Hippocrates *Prognostic* XXV.

⁴ Hippocrates *Aphorisms* I 4, translated by W. H. S. Jones in Hippocrates, Loeb ed., Vol. IV, 1931, p. 101.

⁵ Beazley and Ashmole, *Greek Sculpture and Painting*, 1932, pp. 32-39, 43-52; Webster, *Greek Art and Literature*, 1939, pp. 108-110.

which should serve as a pattern and a law for human life. In this way they came to stand for idealized and universal forces.

Even more abundant and convincing is the evidence which literature supplies. What else is the whole body of gnomic verse, whether by Phocylides¹ or Theognis,² except an attempt to establish some broadly valid rules for human conduct? Towards the same goal press the moral lessons of Hesiod's poetry.³ Although masterful literary art keeps Pindar's didacticism from being obtrusive, the inner urgency to announce and inculcate ethical standards manifests itself constantly in his triumphal odes.⁴ In the tragic poets the theme is overwhelmingly dominant. In the greatest plays at least, the plots themselves were devoted severely to problems of moral wrong and the retribution which overtakes the guilty.⁵ Over and over again in the choruses the doctrine of crime and punishment is alluded to or explicitly stated, often in language which is abstract and universal in application.⁶ That the tendency of tragedy, as conceived by Sophocles, was to idealize

¹ Fr. 2-16, *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca* ed. Diehl, vol. 1, 1925, pp. 48-51.

² E.g., ll. 19-38, *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca*, pp. 118-119.

³ E.g., *Works and Days* 27-41, 174-201, 213-382.

⁴ See e.g., *Ol.* I 33-36, 53, 64; II 15-22, 53-56; IV 22; VI 9-12; VII 24-25, 30-31, 43-44, 53, 94-95; VIII 12-14, 59-61, 72-73; IX 38-39; X 22, 53-55; XI 10; XII 5-12; XIII 13, 47-48, 83; *Pyth.* I 41-42, 84, 99-100; II 24, 34, 49-52, 56, 81-82, 93-96; III 61-62, 81-83, 104-106; IV 139-140, 272-274, 286, 287-289; V 12-13, 25, 54, 122-123; VII 15-18; VIII 92-94; IX 39-41, 76, 78-79; X 10, 27, 48-50, 63, 67-68; XI 28-30; XII 28-29; *Nem.* I 25-28, 32-33, 53-54; III 6; IV 1-2, 31-32; V 18; VII 12-13, 19-20, 23-24, 30-32, 52-56; VIII 17, 45; IX 6-7, 44; X 78-79; XI 13-16, 29-32, 42-48; *Isth.* I 67-68; II 43; III 1-3, 19; IV 32, 44-46; V 52-53; VI 10-13; VII 16-19, 42-43, 47-48; VIII 15-16, 77.

⁵ E.g., the *Oresteia*, the *Oedipus Tyrannus*, the *Antigone*, the *Medea*, the *Hippolytus*, and the *Bacchae*.

⁶ E.g., Aeschylus *Suppliant Women* 96-99, 402-404, 528-530, 822-823; *Agamemnon* 55-59, 69-71, 154-155, 176-178, 367-373, 381-384, 461-466, 758-760, 1107-1111, 1338-1342, 1563-1564; *Choephoroi* 48, 61-69, 71-74, 324-326, 400-404, 646-651; *Eumenides* 261-266, 273-275, 313-320, 334-340, 367-371, 538-543, 553-565; Sophocles *Electra* 174-175, 184, 475-477, 489-498, 1065, 1384-1390, 1420-1421; *Oedipus Tyrannus* 873-879, 1213-1215; *Antigone* 1350-1353; Euripides *Hecuba* 1024-1030; *Electra* 479-486, 737-742, 1155-1160, 1177-1193; *Orestes* 194, 995-1012; *Iphigenia in Tauris* 199-202; *Bacchae* 387-388, 395-399, 882-892, 991-996 (1011-1016); *Hercules Furens* 773-780; *Heracleidae* 901-909; *Medea* 1267-1270.

characters and actions is illustrated by his remark that he portrayed men as they ought to be, while Euripides represented them as they were.¹ From this environment of drama and from the even more inescapable folk-lore which lay behind it, Herodotus drew his conception of the envy of the Gods² and of the cycle which carries a man from Fortune's peak down to overwhelming catastrophe.³ The explanation may well seem over-simple and naive. Nevertheless, it marks the stage at which Greek historical writing recognized, formulated, and applied some universal laws of human conduct.

Thucydides, quite as well as Herodotus, inherited these ideas and preconceptions. He also must have absorbed the doctrine that presumptuous conduct leads to ruin. From his elders he may well have learned that the doctrine had been illustrated, probably not long before he was born, by the Athenian disaster in Egypt.⁴ In his boyhood the lesson was reinforced when Athens was forced to conclude an unfavorable peace in 446 B.C.⁵ It is likely, moreover, that he became early familiar with Pindar's Eleventh Nemean Ode,⁶ the end of which contains perhaps the most remarkable group of moral aphorisms in Greek literature.⁷ One finds it hard to believe that Thucydides was not influenced, consciously or unconsciously, by these ideas when, for example, he wrote the account of the Plague imme-

¹ Aristotle *Poetics* 1460 b 32-35.

² Herodotus I 32. 1; III 40. 2; VII 10. e; 46. 4.

³ *Ibid.* I 207. 2.

⁴ Thucydides I 104, 109-110.

⁵ Thucydides I 115. 1.

⁶ Dated c. 446 B.C.

⁷ Ll. 39-48:

"Neither do the black plow-lands continuously yield their fruit
Nor are the trees willing, in all the circling years,
To bear fragrant bloom of equal wealth,
But rather by turns. So also is the race of mortals

Epode 3

Driven onward by Fate. From Zeus comes no clear sign to accompany men,
But still we embark on mighty ventures of manhood,
Yearning to achieve many works. Our limbs are shackled
To importunate Hope. The streams of Foreknowledge lie far away.
In the pursuit of gain our quarry must be due measure.
Unattainable passions produce fits of madness that are too keen."

diately after the Funeral Oration or when he recorded the disaster in Sicily after setting forth the discussion between the Athenians and the Melians.

Moreover, the Sophistic movement developed during Thucydides' lifetime.¹ The Sophists are often regarded as having corrupted the norms and rules of life which had previously prevailed. Certainly Antiphon emphasized the conflict between law and nature in such a way as to claim that every law is merely a useful convention and, as such, opposed to nature.² This attitude is reflected in Thucydides by the arguments which he puts in the mouths of the Athenian ambassadors at Melos.³ On the other hand, the distinction between nature and convention also led to the conception of a higher law, more ancient and superior in moral value, which should set the standard for the laws that exist in human society.⁴ To Kreon's question,

"Did you then dare transgress these laws of mine?"

Antigone replies:

"Yes: he was not Zeus who gave me this edict,
And Justice, the house-mate of the Gods below,
Has not set up such laws among mankind.
Nor did I think that your pronouncements had
Such power that you, a mortal, could override
The Gods' unwritten and unshaken statutes.
Their life is not today or yesterday
But always: no man knows whence first they came."

A fairer view of the Sophists would seem to be that, both in their destructive and their constructive criticism, they were trying to substitute new standards of conduct based upon reason in place of the older ones founded upon folk-lore and irrational habit and prejudice.⁵ In any case, we are forced to believe that Thucydides grew up

¹ See Burnet, *Greek Philosophy*, Part I, *Thales to Plato*, 1914, pp. 105-122; Barker, *Greek Political Theory: Plato and his Predecessors*, 1918, pp. 55-82; Sabine, *A History of Political Theory*, 1937, pp. 29-32.

² Antiphon the Sophist *On Truth*, ed. Gernet, fr. 4.

³ Thucydides V 85-111, especially perhaps 105.

⁴ II 37. 3; Sophocles *Antigone* 450-457; Euripides *Ion* 854-856; fr. 336, ed. Nauck².

⁵ Burnet *op. cit.* 117.

in a society which laid considerable emphasis upon the value of social laws and which had some idea, however rudimentary, of the historical process.

He had indeed advanced beyond these general conceptions, in which moral questions are dominant, and had worked out some theory of historical relationships. His careful discrimination between *πρόφασις*, "exciting cause,"¹ and *αἰτία*, "grievance,"² suggests that he had considered what ultimately produces and what seems superficially to create a historical crisis. The interest in defining terms, which he probably derived from the Sophists, is further seen in the care with which he makes the Corinthians distinguish between the diplomatic terms *αἰτία*, "remonstrance," used in connection with erring friends, and *κατηγορία*, "denunciation," properly applied to guilty enemies.³ In another place he seems to suggest a difference between *αἰτίαι*, "grievances," and *διαφοραί*,⁴ i.e., the diplomatic negotiations narrated in the preceding chapters. By defining *ἀπόστασις*, "revolt," as a term which could properly be used only of subjects forcibly oppressed,⁵ he manifests still further his desire to determine precisely the nature of political relationships.

Some scholars have felt that Thucydides worked out a more or less unified and complete theory of causation. In an acute and stimulating volume Cornford defended the thesis that Thucydides, as a contemporary of the age of drama, must have conceived of history in terms of dramatic art.⁶ Whenever the characters do not act in accordance with natural and explicable motives, their conduct, according to Cornford, must be ascribed to the whims and vagaries of the Goddess Fortune.⁷ More recently, as has been indicated above,⁸ another scholar has tried to show that Thucydides had accepted the Hippocratean meaning of *πρόφασις*, *τεκμήρια*, and *σημεία*, and in general interpreted historical phenomena according to the terminology of medical diagnosis.⁹ The present essay does not pretend to decide

¹ Thucydides I 23. 6, 118. 1, 146; Cochrane *op. cit.* 17. Thucydides does not, however, always use the word in this special sense. See e.g., I 126. 1.

² Thucydides I 23. 6.

³ I 69. 6.

⁴ I 146.

⁵ III 39. 2.

⁶ *Op. cit.* 137-173.

⁷ *Ibid.* 97-109.

⁸ See above, p. 269.

⁹ Cochrane *op. cit.* 7-34.

between these views or between other views set forth by other scholars. It is perhaps enough that their sponsors felt that Thucydides thought of historical acts as happening in accordance with some laws of human nature.¹ He wished to subject politics and war, almost his sole pre-occupation, to strictly rational analysis.² Beneath the surface of these phenomena he seems to have discerned constantly acting forces which tend to produce similar consequences.³ Such is indeed the implied basis of his assumption that men will wish to understand like events when they recur.⁴ For only if future events are the results of similar actions and similar motives on the part of human beings will his interpretation of the Peloponnesian War have any prognostic value. The detailed discussion of the Plague, for example, resulted from an expressed conviction that, if in the future similar epidemics take place, the sufferers will, by a very law of their nature, experience similar moral catastrophes.⁵ And so also in the masterly treatment of *στᾶσις*.⁶ For the frightful barbarity manifested at Corcyra and other faction-stricken cities will recur "as long as the nature of men continues to be the same."⁷

In more specific ways Thucydides makes clear his belief in the existence of general laws influencing human conduct.⁸ His desire to pierce through the manifold semblances of political action to the permanent reality behind them probably explains, in great measure, the extent to which he employs abstract expressions, especially the combination

¹ Abbott *op. cit.* 11-12.

² In this desire he shows perhaps the influence of Democritus and Anaxagoras as well as that of Hippocrates. See Cochrane *op. cit.* 3; Abbott *op. cit.* 18-19. It is probable that he had closer personal relations with Anaxagoras. See Marcellinus 22.

³ Most of the rules which describe the general action of these forces are found in the speeches. They constitute, as it were, the essential basis of the argument. It is surely fair to infer that these *dicta* make up in part what Thucydides calls *τὰ δέοντα* (I 22. 1).

⁴ Thucydides I 22. 4.

⁵ II 48. 3.

⁶ III 82-84.

⁷ III 82. 2.

⁸ At this point it is perhaps fair to state that the writer disregards, for the purpose of this paper, the several questions which concern the time when Thucydides composed the various parts of his work. It is here assumed that his conception of history represents substantially his mature thought towards the end of his life.

of the neuter article and adjective or its equivalent.¹ Moreover, in the form of what is superficially rhetorical balance, he constantly presents to us the antithesis between λόγος and ἔργον, the principal generic manifestations of human behavior, the former suggesting what men say and the latter what men do.² More specifically, Thucydides implies or declares that one man is in general very like another,³ and that men normally react in similar ways to similar stimuli.⁴ Within the human race there are certain groups, such as the Spartans and the Athenians⁵ or even the war-party at Sparta,⁶ which respond to their own peculiar rules of conduct.

The conclusion to which we should naturally be led by the consideration of such a belief is further confirmed by the many aphorisms of behavior scattered throughout Thucydides' work. We are told, for example, that what is far off and therefore imperfectly known arouses the greatest admiration.⁷ Good fortune beyond reasonable expectation supplies the strength of hope.⁸ Man is overwhelmed more by the suddenness than by the severity of misfortune.⁹ Desire leads to few but foresight to many successes.¹⁰ All men, both individually and collectively, are naturally inclined to do wrong and no mere law will ever prevent their lawlessness.¹¹ Crimes are pardonable only if the

¹ E.g., I 6. 6, 13. 5, 22. 4, 36. 1, 37. 4, 39. 2, 42. 2, 68. 1, 77. 5, 81. 4, 84. 3, 90. 2, 120. 4, 141. 5; II 21. 2, 39. 1, 42. 4, 43. 4, 44. 4, 45. 1, 51. 2, 59. 3, 61. 2, 3, 62. 5, 63. 1, 3, 64. 6, 87. 5; III 30. 4, 37. 2, 40. 1, 46. 2, 3, 82. 4, 6, 8, 83. 2, 3; IV 18. 3, 61. 5, 6, 62. 4, 63. 1, 92. 2, 4, 126. 6; V 9. 1, 6, 8, 16. 1, 68. 2, 85, 90, 99, 102, 104, 105. 1, 2, 3, 108, 109, 112. 2; VI 11. 6, 16. 2, 18. 3, 6, 23. 1, 24. 2, 35. 1, 60. 2, 4, 69. 1, 72. 4, 82. 3, 85. 3, 86. 5, 89. 1, 4, 92. 4; VII 49. 1, 61. 3, 66. 3, 71. 3, 73. 2, 75. 5, 83. 4, 85. 3, 87. 1; VIII 9. 2, 24. 4, 27. 2, 48. 3, 66. 3, 5, 92. 11, 100. 3, 105. 1. In general see Gildersleeve, *Syntax of Classical Greek*, First Part, 1900, p. 13: "... the boldness of Thucydides is to be noticed."

² E.g., I 23. 3 (ἀκοῇ · ἔργῳ), 69. 5, 73. 2, 84. 3, 128. 3; II 8. 4, 40. 1, 2, 42. 4 (τὸ αἰσχροὺν τοῦ λόγου), 43. 1, 2, 46. 1, 65. 9, 81. 2; III 66. 2 (ἔργῳ · λόγοις), 70. 1; IV 70. 2; V 111. 3 (ρήματος · ἔργῳ); VI 18. 6, 78. 3, 88. 1; VII 48. 3, 69. 2; VIII 78 (ὄνομα · ἔργον), 89. 2 (ἔργῳ · ὀνόματι), 92. 4 (λόγων · ἔργῳ).

³ I 22. 4, 84. 3-4; III 45. 3.

⁴ III 45. 5; V 89.

⁵ I 70. For the Athenians see also II 65. 4 and Cleon's criticisms in III 37-38.

⁶ I 86.

⁹ II 61. 3.

⁷ VI 11. 4, 13. 1; III 38. 5-7.

¹⁰ VI 13. 1; IV 108. 4.

⁸ IV 65. 4.

¹¹ III 45. 3, 7, 84. 2.

element of the involuntary entered largely into the act.¹ Men remember in proportion to their sufferings.² Suppliants, according to Hellenic law, should always be spared.³ It is only the love of glory which never grows old.⁴ Thorough discussion is a necessary preliminary of wise action.⁵ Ill-conceived plans often triumph over the excellent schemes of careless opponents.⁶ To punish one's enemies is most sweet.⁷ When men are defeated in a particular skill upon which they have prided themselves, their whole morale is seriously undermined.⁸ If they observe some unpleasantness before their very eyes, they become angered and are least inclined to govern their conduct by reason.⁹ A city which is itself protected and saved confers more benefits upon the individual citizen than he can possibly accumulate by himself, should his city be taken and destroyed.¹⁰ Behind all the manifestations of political conduct stands the inexorable law, universal in its application, that all things which grow and thrive are destined also to decay.¹¹

The numerous maxims concerning war and alliances relate more closely perhaps to the subject of this essay. When troubles arise between city-states, men turn to action first and afterwards have recourse to diplomatic negotiations.¹² War is less likely to be the result when one of the opponents is ready to defend himself, for he may frighten off his enemy.¹³ That self-defense is a just cause for war is universally admitted.¹⁴ Being a blind affair and full of paradoxes,¹⁵ war involves many chances.¹⁶ It waits upon no man's pleasure¹⁷ and accordingly is difficult to end at an advantageous moment.¹⁸ In battle the unexpected is extremely effective.¹⁹ In the long run generosity towards a conquered foe is the most prudent policy.²⁰

These aphorisms are only a few of those which Thucydides utilizes.

¹ III 40. 1.

² II 54. 3.

³ III 67. 6.

⁴ II 44. 4.

⁵ II 40. 2; III 42. 2.

⁶ I 120. 5.

⁷ VII 68. 1.

⁸ VII 66. 3.

⁹ II 11. 7.

¹⁰ II 60. 2.

¹¹ II 64. 3.

¹² I 78. 3.

¹³ VI 34. 7; I 82. 3; III 39. 5.

¹⁴ III 56. 2, 66. 2.

¹⁵ I 122. 1; I 140. 1; II 11. 4; III 30. 4; IV 18. 4, 62. 4.

¹⁶ I 78. 1-2, 84. 3; VII 61. 3.

¹⁷ I 142. 1.

¹⁸ I 82. 6.

¹⁹ III 30. 3-4.

²⁰ IV 19. 2-4.

We do not need to regard them as the expression of the historian's own views. They should rather be considered as general attitudes which were widely held in Greece of the fifth century B.C. and which different parties appealed to on different occasions. In the same way we should interpret the maxims, often mutually inconsistent, which Thucydides mentions in connection with alliances or the relations between rulers and subjects. Thus we are told that it is a universal law for the weaker to be controlled by the stronger,¹ and for men to desire to rule others.² For they are all urged onward by fear, the love of honor, and the wish to benefit themselves.³ Rulers should always be guided by the view that they should get the most out of their subjects.⁴ The surest bonds between states are community of interest⁵ and justice and honor,⁶ although in another connection a Mitylenaeen speaker is made to say that only an equal balance of fear preserves alliances.⁷ No one who had the power to advance himself was ever diverted from self-aggrandizement by any argument drawn from abstract justice.⁸ Gratitude from subjects one should never expect,⁹ for they resent the controlling force which must always be present.¹⁰ Paradoxically, they are angered more when they are not granted justice than when they are treated with brutal violence.¹¹ It is sudden and unexpected prosperity which leads them to revolt and they ward off misfortune more easily than they maintain their own good fortune.¹² It is a law that one state should not receive the revolted subjects of another.¹³ When defeated rebels sue for peace, they should be spared as being suppliants.¹⁴ It is not he who actually applies constraint but he who is the silent and unprotesting accomplice that really enslaves.¹⁵ Treaties are broken not by those who seek new diplomatic relationships but by those who break their sworn promises of help.¹⁶ In the

¹ I 76. 2, 3, 77. 3.

² I 76. 3; IV 61. 5; V 89, 105. 2.

³ I 75. 3, 76. 2; III 45. 1, 6; IV 17. 4, 108. 4; VI 13. 1.

⁴ V 93; III 44. 2-4, 46. 2-4.

⁵ I 124. 1.

⁶ III 10. 1.

⁷ III 11. 1, 12. 1.

⁸ I 76. 2; IV 59. 2.

⁹ I 77. 3; III 40. 3.

¹⁰ I 77. 5.

¹¹ I 77. 4.

¹² III 39. 4, 45. 6.

¹³ I 40. 4, 41. 1; III 9. 1.

¹⁴ III 58. 3.

¹⁵ I 69. 1.

¹⁶ I 71. 5.

face of obvious and shameful dangers a feeling of honorable shame has ruined many men.¹ With singular vividness Euphemus, the Athenian ambassador present at Camarina, utilized the current doctrine which should govern the relations between states: "For a tyrant or an imperial city nothing is unreasonable which is advantageous, nor is there any kinsman except one who can be trusted. In each separate situation a man must be friend or foe as circumstance dictates. Here [i.e. in Sicily] we are helped, not if we harm our friends, but if our foes are impotent because of the strength of our friends."²

It will easily be seen from these examples that Thucydides thought of political life as conducted under certain widely prevailing conditions and rules. His experience and the results of his acute observation he distilled into *dicta* that often possess epigrammatic brilliance. Against this background and habit of mind, the present essay proposes to consider whether Thucydides also recognized the existence and importance of economic factors as operating forces in social and political life. That he did so has been denied³ or at least his economic awareness has been belittled.⁴ It has accordingly seemed wise to reopen the problem and consider the facts anew. After a preliminary paragraph, an attempt will be made to examine, with emphasis upon economic elements, Thucydides' summary account of Greek history before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War. Then the paper will discuss the war itself. It will consider Thucydides' explanation of the cause of the struggle. In the second place, it will treat the problem of imperial and commercial expansion. Finally, it will analyze the essentially different bases on which the Athenian state and the Peloponnesian Confederacy were supported.

"Hellas and Poverty," according to the words put by Herodotus in the mouth of Demaratus, "have always been reared together."⁵ In all probability, then, Thucydides must have had an elementary notion of financial and commercial relationships. At any rate, he

¹ V 111. 3.

² VI 85. 1. One should certainly note also the collection of enlightened aphorisms about political life in a democracy put forward by Diodorus in III 42-43.

³ Shotwell, cited at the beginning of this paper.

⁴ E.g., Bury *op. cit.* 91-92.

⁵ Herodotus VII 102. 1.

must have known that Athens was supported chiefly by grain imported from Egypt, the Crimea, or Sicily.¹ The historian himself tells us that he controlled, presumably through leasing, mining properties in Thrace.² The great importance of these mines in the Greek world and the efforts which were made to get possession of them surely would have suggested to Thucydides some rudimentary idea of economic motives and effects.³

More specific evidence for Thucydides' economic views is to be found in his summary account of early Greek history. Thus piracy, which originated from motives of gain,⁴ was suppressed by Minos in order that his own revenues might be increased.⁵ In early days the most powerful men, because of their economic surpluses, could bring the weaker cities under their control.⁶ Men who founded settlements on the sea-coast made more money and lived in greater security, some even becoming so wealthy that they built walls around their settlements.⁷ It was in fact the motive of gain which led the Phoenicians to found towns on the coast of Sicily and on the adjacent islands.⁸ From the experience of these early times may well have come the idea of the close relationship which must exist between inland states and harbor communities.⁹ For the former, according to the words appropriately put into the mouths of the Corinthians, must help their friends on the seaboard or else they will not be able to market and export their seasonal crops and get in exchange the commodities which the sea brings to the mainland. When navigation became a matter of course, the most recently founded cities (that is, those built after the

¹ VI 20. 4; Grundy *op. cit.* 159-161.

² Thucydides IV 105. 1.

³ Glotz, *Histoire Grecque*, II, 1931, pp. 120-121, 134-135, 650-651. In this connection one should not stress Thucydides' belief that wealth is a form of *εὐδαιμονία* (II 97. 5; also VI 9. 2), that poverty and crime are closely related (III 45. 4; also Pseud.-Xen. *Ath. Pol.* I 5), and that prosperity tends to make people lawless (III 45. 4; VIII 24. 4).

⁴ Thucydides I 5. 1. Obvious as the reason is to us, the fact that Thucydides thought it necessary to define the motive throws some light upon the relatively undeveloped economic sense of his contemporaries.

⁵ I 4. 1.

⁶ I 8. 3.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ VI 2. 6.

⁹ I 120. 2.

period when men settled at some distance from the sea)¹ were established upon the coast itself and on isthmuses which they fortified with walls.² These changes coincided with the growth of economic surpluses and were made in order that the inhabitants might better protect themselves against their neighbors and more efficiently engage in trade. When naval power developed, its champions gained great power for themselves both from the income of revenues and from rule over others.³ In particular those peoples who did not possess sufficient arable land themselves would embark in their boats and occupy adjoining islands. Thus in the primitive stage of Greek history Thucydides seems to see that connection between inadequate land and naval exploitation which was perhaps the most striking feature of Athenian economy during the fifth century.

It was the possession of wealth which gave Pelops his power.⁴ The relatively small scale on which the Trojan War was waged was the result of *ἀχρηματία*.⁵ Because the supplies were insufficient, the Greeks took with them too few men. In fact, they had only such a number as they thought could live off the enemy's land. Their calculations miscarried even so, and they were compelled to engage in piracy and agriculture in order to obtain provisions. This necessity caused the war to drag out for ten years. Here Thucydides seems to be implicitly contrasting the type of warfare produced by inadequate economic reserves and the kind, generally favored in the fifth century, which was based upon the accumulation of large economic surpluses. In these early times land was everywhere available, and as a consequence settlers found it easy to change their places of habitation.⁶ To the same result contributed the general insecurity of property, the absence of anything that resembled mercantile trade, and the

¹ Plato *Laws* 704 a-705 b; Aristotle *Politics* 1327 a 11- b 19; Cicero *de rep.* II 3. 5-4. 9. The conclusions of these thinkers are based upon the fact that the earliest settlements were generally, for reasons of safety, placed at some distance from the sea. See Thucydides I 7.

² *Ibid.*

³ I 15. 1.

⁴ I 9. 2. The observation is elementary but perhaps worth noting because Thucydides implies that his wealth was the basis also of the influence of Agamemnon.

⁵ I 11. 1, 3.

⁶ I 2. 1-2.

natural reluctance on the part of settlers to plant trees or vines or anything requiring fixity of dwelling. The men were poverty-stricken and had no easy and pleasant dealings with each other. Wherever land was notably fertile, as in Thessaly, Boeotia, and the Peloponnesus (with the exception of Arcadia), there were many successions of settlers, new bands constantly driving out the squatters whom they found there.¹ Similarly, political factions arose where the land was rich.² There, as among Thucydides' contemporaries, rivals were destroyed and became the object of foreign plots. The situation of Attica was especially significant.³ The soil, in general, was thin and poor. As a consequence, the waves of successive migrations did not submerge the early settlers and destroy their attempts to obtain an economic foot-hold. Because life in Attica was relatively free from disturbances, many people migrated there from other and more fertile districts.⁴ These men, often disaffected spirits who left their native cities as a result of war or faction, became citizens of Attica and increased the population to such an extent that the land would no longer support them and they were forced to send colonies to Ionia.

These instances may appear rather elementary and general in character.⁵ Surely no one could fairly claim that Thucydides revealed in them a profound or consistent feeling for economic motives. It is nevertheless just and proper to remember that he had a genuine sense for certain relationships of that type. He did realize that there was a definite connection between mercantile interests and the sites of

¹ I 2. 3.

³ I 2. 5.

² I 2. 4.

⁴ I 2. 6.

⁵ Thucydides' discussion of Greek history between the conspiracy of Cylon and the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War is very condensed. Most of the important economic developments of the period are not mentioned at all. For the sake of completeness, the following citations may be useful. Thucydides was aware that the rise of the tyrants coincided with an increase in material wealth (I 13. 1). He appreciated the economic importance of Thasos (I 100. 2, 101. 3; also I 56. 2, 68. 4; IV 102. Herodotus VI 46. 2-3). He knew that defeats in litigation (with accompanying financial losses) led the Athenians to try imperial cases at Athens (I 77. 1; Pseud.-Xen. *Ath. Pol.* I 16-17); that arrears in payment of tribute were the chief cause for the revolt of the allies (I 99. 1); and that the substitution of financial payments for quotas in ships brought about a profound change in the character of the Delian Confederacy (I 99. 2-3: contrast, however, the very different explanation implied by I 130. 2).

cities. He had some idea of the fact that inland cities must have access to the sea. The significant tie between inadequate land and naval exploitation was not lost upon him. He knew that insufficient resources both prolonged and modified the character of warfare.

These examples, however, are only incidental to the main theme of his history. It is in his treatment of the Peloponnesian War itself that one must search primarily for the evidence that may indicate his awareness of economic motivation. Superficially considered, the field of inquiry should not disappoint one. For the very greatness of the conflict, in Thucydides' opinion, resulted from the material resources of both the major contestants.¹ Indeed, we are left in no doubt whatever of Thucydides' conviction that war, both in general and in the specific instance he describes, rests solidly upon an economic basis. As King Archidamus is made to say, "war is less a matter of arms than it is of money;"² or, in Pericles' words, "it is economic surpluses rather than forced contributions that support wars."³ Arms indeed are of value only when a state is financially powerful enough to use them.⁴ According to the cynical Athenian ambassadors at Melos, only those who command surplus resources can afford the luxury of indulging hopes that may lead to war.⁵ Ultimate success in military operations depends, as Pericles is reported to have said, upon intelligence and financial reserves.⁶ At the time of the threatened Athenian attack, Hermocrates, casting about for possible allies, suggests that the Syracusans turn to Carthage. "For they," he asserts, "have acquired much gold and silver, by means of which war and other activities prosper."⁷ The assumption, constantly made in the course of Thucydides' history,⁸ that war costs money is specifically

¹ I 1. 1.

² I 83. 2, 85. 1. Note also in general I 11; III 46. 2-3; VII 48. 5. It is surprising to note, however, that Archidamus does not demand any special financial assessments. He is said to have observed that war does not feed on fixed rations. See Plutarch *Apoph. Lac. Arch.* 190 a.

³ Thucydides I 141. 5.

⁴ I 83. 2.

⁵ V 103. 1.

⁶ II 13. 2.

⁷ VI 34. 2.

⁸ I 27. 2; II 7. 2; III 17. 3, 19. 1; VII 28. 4. For economic questions in relations between allies see, e.g., I 98; IV 75. 1; V 47. 6.

illustrated by a passage at the end of his narrative.¹ In 412 B.C., Peisander reminded the Athenians that Tissaphernes and the Great King were providing subsidies for the Spartans, and that the Athenians themselves had no resources with which to continue the war, unless they could win over the King.

These general observations may appear trite and obvious. In any event, it is time to turn to a more serious question. The origin of the Peloponnesian War is described in the following words: "For the truest exciting cause (*πρόφασις*)² of the war, though the one least openly alleged, I believe to have been the fact that the Athenians, who were becoming powerful and were inspiring the Lacedaemonians with fear, forced them to wage war."³ For the moment, we may postpone the consideration of any economic implication the words may have, and weigh only the truthfulness of the statement. It has been sharply challenged in modern times.⁴ "It has often been pointed out," to quote Adcock, "that neither the history of the ten years which preceded nor of the ten years which followed the outbreak of the war justifies this statement."⁵ According to Grundy, "[Thucydides] assigns [the war] to original causes of wider import than those which were operative before the war commenced. The fear of the growing power of Athens was a much larger factor after the Peace of Nikias than it can have been after the Thirty Years' Peace of 446."⁶ Nevertheless, there are reasons for believing that Thucydides was right.⁷ At least the Lacedaemonians were not wholly without grounds for fear. While there are other points of view, e.g., strategic, from which Thucydides' statement could, and should, be examined, the present writer feels that it should primarily be interpreted in conjunction with

¹ VIII 53. 2.

² For Thucydides' choice of this word see Cochrane *op. cit.* 17; see above, p. 273.

³ I 23. 6; also 86. 5, 88, 33. 3, 118. 1-2.

⁴ E.g., by Grundy, *op. cit.* 6, 322-323, 408-409; Cornford, *op. cit.* 3-14; Adcock in *CAH* V, 1927, pp. 190-191.

⁵ *Loc. cit.* 190.

⁶ Grundy *op. cit.* 6.

⁷ Dickins, "The True Cause of the Peloponnesian War," *Classical Quarterly* V (1911) 238-248; O'Neill, *Ancient Corinth*, Part I, 1930, pp. 212-214; Glotz, *Histoire Grecque*, II, 1931, pp. 611-613.

the thirteenth chapter of Book Two. In other words, the adjective *μεγάλους* refers, according to this view, principally to financial strength. In the years preceding the outbreak of the war there was no lack of symbols to remind the Lacedaemonians of the reviving might of Athens. In 447 B.C. the Parthenon was begun; in spite of the Samian War, in 438 Pheidias' statue was set up in its place; and in 433 the structure was substantially complete.¹ In 437 B.C. Mnesicles started work upon the Propylaea — work which continued until 431, when the war put a stop to such outlays.² The cost of these buildings was enormous. For the Propylaea alone, if the figures quoted from Heliodorus are correct,³ the expense amounted to two thousand and twelve talents.⁴ And these were not by any means the only structures then being erected by the state.⁵ There were, moreover, other kinds of expenditures which, though far less impressive to the eye, could hardly have failed to arouse the attention of an interested observer. Athens was at war with Samos in 440 and 439 B.C.⁶ Although the cost of reducing the island was at least fourteen hundred and four talents,⁷ the Athenians were not seriously inconvenienced. They temporarily suspended building operations on the Acropolis and borrowed the needed sums from the sacred treasure of Athena. No Athenian had to reach into his own pocket to pay the charges. Just before the outbreak of war, potential enemies could have drawn disquieting inferences from the speed with which the two flotillas of 433 B.C. went to

¹ Dinsmoor, "Attic Building Accounts I," *American Journal of Archaeology*, XVII (1913), pp. 53-80; XXV (1921), pp. 233-247; *IG* I² 339-353; Tod, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions*, 1933, no. 52, pp. 112-114; Glotz, *Histoire Grecque* II 183-184.

² Dinsmoor, "Attic Building Accounts III," *American Journal of Archaeology*, XVII (1913), pp. 371-398; *IG* I² 363-367; Tod *op. cit.* no. 53, pp. 114-116; Glotz *loc. cit.*

³ Harpocration s.v. Προπύλαια ταῦτα; Photius and Suidas s.v. Προπύλαια ταῦτα; Plutarch *Pericles* 13. 7-8.

⁴ Heliodorus' statement is accepted by Miltner, "Pericles" in Pauly-Wissowa *Realencyclopaedie* Half-vol. 37, p. 774. It is challenged by Glotz, *op. cit.* 184.

⁵ Glotz *op. cit.* 183.

⁶ Thucydides I 115. 2-117; Plutarch *Pericles* 25-28; Diodorus XII 27-28; *CAH* V 169-171; Glotz *op. cit.* 206-209.

⁷ *IG* I² 293; Tod *op. cit.* no. 50, pp. 103-104.

Corcyra and from the ease with which the Athenians paid the not inconsiderable costs.¹

It was perhaps as early as 437 B.C. that Pericles became convinced that relations of Athens with the Peloponnesian Confederacy were hopeless and that war was inevitable.² He was no longer in the hey-day of youth and must work swiftly. Accordingly, he prepared for what was coming, and the preparations assumed, to a considerable degree, the form of financial reserves.³ It is hardly possible, nor is it perhaps necessary here, to discuss in full the way in which Pericles created his enormous war-chest of between nine thousand seven hundred and six thousand talents.⁴ In 434 B.C., when the accounts between Athens and Athena and the Other Gods were square,⁵ the balance on which Athens could draw in case of need probably amounted to about eight thousand talents.⁶ To have amassed such a sum, without bearing down on the allies with increasing harshness,⁷ "discloses a providence on the part of the people and its leaders for which modern governments have neither the courage nor the necessity."⁸ Whatever the exact condition of the account was at any given moment preceding the outbreak of war, it was presumably well known to the Lacedae-

¹ IG I² 295; Tod *op. cit.* no. 55, pp. 118-119.

² This is the probable date of Phormio's expedition to Acarnania: Thucydides II 68. 7-8; Busolt, *Griechische Geschichte*, III 2, 1904, pp. 763-764; Adcock in *CAH* V pp. 176-177, 474-475. For Pericles' view that war was inevitable see Thucydides I 127. 3, 144. 3, 33. 3, 36. 1, 44. 2; Plutarch *Pericles* 8. 5; Meyer *GdA*, IV, 1915, pp. 281-283; Adcock in *CAH* V 178.

³ Thucydides II 13; I 141. 5. For modern discussions and epigraphical sources see Busolt *op. cit.* III 1, 562-565; Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*², II 1, 1914, p. 299; II 2, 1916, pp. 324-356; Zimmern, *The Greek Commonwealth*, 4th ed., 1924, pp. 403-419; Adcock in *CAH* V 177; Glotz *Histoire Grecque* II 192-197; Ferguson, *The Treasurers of Athena*, 1932, pp. 153-171; Tod *op. cit.* no. 51, pp. 104-111; Meritt, Wade-Gery, and McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, Vol. I, 1939, *passim*.

⁴ It is probable that the reserve was at its highest figure about 450 B.C. See Ferguson *op. cit.* 154.

⁵ IG I² 324; Ferguson *op. cit.* 155.

⁶ Isocrates VIII 126; Ferguson *op. cit.* 166. Elsewhere Isocrates gives a higher figure, 10,000 talents: VIII 69; XV 234.

⁷ Glotz *op. cit.* 193-194.

⁸ Ferguson *op. cit.* 166.

monians.¹ It is equally probable that they also realized the purpose of the financial measure successfully sponsored by Callias in 434 B.C.² No one, moreover, could fail to grasp the fact that, once freed from the strain of building the Parthenon and other costly buildings, the Athenians could easily increase the fund still further. The vast fleet, maintained in excellent condition, implied the existence of great reserves of money.³ In any event, Athens was in a position to support military operations for a considerable period. The Lacedaemonians probably were aware of the costs of the Samian War.⁴ Using those expenses as the basis of their calculations, they could have inferred, at any time in the years preceding 432/1 B.C., that Athens could engage in hostilities easily and could support the strain for a period of at least four years.

It is the belief of the present writer that the knowledge of the surplus money accumulating upon the Acropolis⁵ and of the numerous public works then in the course of construction led the Lacedaemonians to believe in the growing might of Athens. If they were mistaken, their error was at least pardonable, since Thucydides himself, an expert observer who desired to know, thought that his city was "becoming great."⁶ In view of the considerations which have been mentioned, it is probable that the Lacedaemonians were correct in their appraisal; and it is probable that Thucydides, in his use of the adjective *μεγάλους*, had chiefly economic power in mind.

It may be felt that, however important the financial power of Athens was, this fact has little to do with any theory of economic motivation.

¹ Thucydides II 39. 1.

² *IG* I² 91, 92; Tod *op. cit.* no. 51, pp. 104-111; Meritt, Wade-Gery, and McGregor *Athenian Tribute Lists* I D1-D2, pp. 160-161, 208-209; Ferguson *op. cit.* 154-165; Kolbe, "Das Kallias-dekret," *Sitzungsber. d. Berl. Ak.*, 1927, pp. 319-330.

³ Glotz *op. cit.* 352-354.

⁴ See above, p. 284; also Busolt *op. cit.* III 1, 551-552, note 1.

⁵ One should remember that eight thousand talents, to say nothing of the maximum figure, nine thousand seven hundred talents, was probably more than "the total property, movable and immovable, of all the citizens and resident aliens of Athens" in 378/7 B.C. See Polybius II 62. 6-7; Demosthenes XIV 19; Ferguson *op. cit.* 166.

⁶ Thucydides I 23. 6; Ferguson, "Economic Causes of Wars in Ancient Greece," *The Military Historian and Economist*, Vol. I (1916) 147.

That war costs money was, we may assume, an obvious truism even in antiquity.¹ The significance of the war-funds depends primarily upon the theory and practice of war in the fifth century.² For war was then waged not by taxing the future but by means of accumulated reserves or by sums levied for specific emergencies.³ The war-chest which Pericles tended so carefully came chiefly from the Athenian allies. It was, as will be noted later on,⁴ an integral part of the political system with which Athens confronted the different arrangements of Sparta and the Peloponnesian Confederacy. Its purpose was unmistakable. The very existence of the fund was at once a temptation and a risk. It can hardly be denied, in view of what Thucydides says,⁵ that their enormous reserves enabled the Athenians to contemplate the coming of war with fearless confidence.⁶ To the Lacedaemonians, on the other hand, the fund was a risk. It made Athens an exceedingly dangerous potential enemy.⁷ Should her power increase, as Sparta seemed to fear it would,⁸ the peril would become greater. Any further extension of Athenian power in Greece would mean,⁹ among other things, that more talents would be deposited with Athena. In 432/1 B.C. the time for decisive action had come, for the Athenians because they had built up huge reserves against this very hour and because Pericles, now growing old, desired to guide his city through the inevitable conflict; and for the Lacedaemonians because they lived under an economic system which could not hope to match the imperial exploitation of Athens, and because they, or at least a powerful war-party among them,¹⁰ feared that soon any possible chance of security would be irrevocably lost.¹¹

¹ See above, pp. 282-283.

² See above, p. 280.

³ Thucydides III 19. 1; IG I² 98, l. 14; Glotz *op. cit.* 379.

⁴ See below, pp. 296-297.

⁵ Thucydides II 13. 3; I 141. 2.

⁶ Ferguson *op. cit.* 166-167.

⁷ Thucydides I 80. 3, 85. 1, 86. 3.

⁸ I 88.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ I 85. 3, 86.

¹¹ Thucydides specifically says that the Spartans were not persuaded by the complaints of their allies: I 88.

In this way, then, Thucydides' statement about the origin of the war¹ reveals a sense, however imperfectly expanded, of economic motivation. After mentioning the "truest exciting cause," he turns to consider "the openly alleged grievances on either side, as a consequence of which they broke the truce and entered upon the war."² The "grievances" are the affairs of Corcyra and Potidaea. In order to discover whether Thucydides had a feeling for economic factors in connection with imperial and commercial expansion, the instances of Corcyra and Potidaea will be combined with others in a general treatment.

It was fully realized that the tribute which the allies of Athens paid supported the Athenian fleets.³ In some of the cases which will be considered the evidence is too scanty or inconclusive to permit any important conclusions.⁴ For example, in describing the situation at Potidaea, Thucydides mentions the fact that it paid tribute to Athens and that the Athenians were angered when the Peloponnesians caused it to revolt and openly fought on the side of the Potidaeans.⁵ He does not state, however, as one would naturally expect, that, whereas in 435/4 B.C. the city paid a tribute of six talents,⁶ in 433/2⁷ and probably also in 434/3⁸ the Athenians suddenly raised the amount to fifteen talents. Various motives probably contributed to bring about the revolt which followed the increased assessment, but one may fairly claim that Thucydides has failed to report an essential element in the relations between Athens and Potidaea. The treatment accorded to Mytilene in 428 B.C. is perhaps a little more illuminating.⁹ The moment chosen for the revolt was opportune. In the speech which the Mytilenaeans delivered at Olympia, they tell their auditors, and

¹ See above, p. 283.

² Thucydides I 23. 6.

³ I 81. 4; III 46. 3.

⁴ For instances earlier than the Peloponnesian War see above, p. 281, note 5.

⁵ Thucydides I 66.

⁶ Meritt, Wade-Gery, and McGregor *Tribute Lists* I p. 145, no. 20, VI l. 5, p. 386.

⁷ *Op. cit.* p. 147, no. 22, II l. 70, p. 386.

⁸ *Op. cit.* p. 146, no. 21, V l. 21, p. 386.

⁹ Thucydides III 25-50.

particularly the Spartans, that Athens has been weakened by the ravages of the plague and by the financial drain of the war.¹ That their appraisal was correct is shown by the fact that in 428 the Athenians were forced to impose an *εἰσφορά* to support the cost of the punitive expedition.² Subsequently, when the trouble between Athens and Mytilene became desperate, Diodotus urged the Athenians to deal temperately with the rebellious islanders.³ His reasoning is not generous and noble but sensible and calculating. If Athens imposes easy terms, revolting cities will yield while they are still able to provide the costs incurred in reducing them and will continue to pay tribute in the future. On the other hand, if Athens destroys Mytilene, other cities will make more thorough preparations and, when ultimately subdued, will be themselves ruined and will never again render tribute to Athens. "And it is from tribute that we get strength to meet our foes." The losses of war and the ravages of disease may have debased the spirit of Athens: they had not yet blurred her economic shrewdness. As might be expected of one who was familiar with the northern coast of the Aegean, Thucydides understood the importance of Amphipolis — an importance clearly implied by its earlier name of *Ἐννέα Ὀδοί*, "Nine Roads."⁴ When the place was captured by Brasidas in 424 B.C., the Athenians were stricken with fear. Many years before, probably in or about 465 B.C., they had originally sent out the settlement;⁵ and in 437 a fresh colony was sent out to occupy the ancient site.⁶ Behind these measures may be easily seen the desire, on the part of the Athenians, to prevent the growth of Thracian power towards the west, and to acquire for their sole use the rich timber-lands and the gold mines which lay near the Strymon. In 424 B.C., Athens being then at war, such needs were felt with particular intensity.⁷ The case of Melos is less simple.⁸ In 426 B.C. Nicias attacked the island but was not successful in reducing

¹ III 13. 3.

² III 19. 1; Glotz *op. cit.* 379; Zimmern *op. cit.* 438.

³ III 46. 2-3; Zimmern *op. cit.* 435-436.

⁴ Thucydides IV 102. 3-4, 108. 1.

⁵ IV 102. 2; Scholiast on Aeschines *de falsa leg.* 31; Walker in *CAH* V 56-58.

⁶ Thucydides IV 102. 3; Diodorus XII 32. 3; Adcock in *CAH* V 172.

⁷ Thucydides IV 108. 1.

⁸ V 84-116; Ferguson in *CAH* V 281; Glotz *op. cit.* 674-675.

it.¹ Although the island was obligated to pay tribute of fifteen talents according to the assessment of 425 B.C.,² for nine years it evaded the responsibility. At last, in the summer of 416 B.C., the Athenians, carrying out Alcibiades' proposal, determined to force the Melians to enter their empire. The Melians resisted to the end and were destroyed. Arrogance and short-sighted desire for the tribute which Melos might pay had brought the Athenians to a point where they no longer knew what prudence and shrewdness were.

The instances which have been cited in the preceding paragraph hardly indicate more, on the historian's part, than an awareness of the simplest form of economic interests. They show that the tribute or other revenues which might be received were an essential part of the imperial system which Athens had developed. A more fruitful field of inquiry will perhaps be found, if we turn to consider the relations which Athens had with the western parts of the Greek world.

For well over a hundred years Athens had maintained commercial dealings with the West.³ As far back as 454/3 B.C. Athens had entered into treaty relations with Segesta.⁴ During Thucydides' youth the settlement at Thurii was founded in 443.⁵ The treaties of alliance, struck between Athens and Leontini⁶ and Athens and Rhegium⁷ in 433/2 B.C., seem to have been the renewals of earlier agreements made probably between 446 and 440. At that time, indeed, if one may trust the tradition preserved by Plutarch,⁸ a passion for Sicily possessed the minds of many; and some even entertained grandiose dreams of Etruria and Carthage. About the year 437 Athens sent Phormio, her ablest naval commander, to Acarnania, with the result that the

¹ Thucydides III 91. 1-2.

² Meritt, Wade-Gery, and McGregor *Tribute Lists* I p. 156, A9, I 65, p. 341.

³ For the spread of Attic pottery, see Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, 1931, p. 59; Beazley, *Attic Black Figure*, 1928, pp. 11-12; Adcock in *CAH* IV 66. Attic ware, it should perhaps be noted, had superseded Corinthian.

⁴ *IG* I² 19, 20; Diodorus XI 86. 2; Busolt *Griechische Geschichte* III 1, 521; Tod *op. cit.* no. 31, pp. 56-57.

⁵ Diodorus XII 10-12.

⁶ *IG* I² 52; Tod *op. cit.* no. 57, pp. 125-126.

⁷ *IG* I² 51; Tod *op. cit.* no. 58, p. 127.

⁸ Plutarch *Pericles* 20. 3. For the persistence of this interest see Aristophanes *Knights* 1303.

northern villages of the district became allies of Athens.¹ About the year 455 the Athenians established at Naupactus, which they had taken from the Ozolian Locrians,² some of the Messenian defenders of Mt. Ithome.³ Although the position flanked the Corinthian trade route to the West, Athens retained Naupactus at the time of the Thirty Years Truce.⁴ When Athens forced her rival, Aegina, to enter the Delian Confederacy in 457/6,⁵ she was free, if she wished, to compete more effectively with Corinth in the trade of the West.

It is against this historical background that one must consider the events which fall within the narrower range of Thucydides' narrative. The interests which connected Athens and the West must have been the common property of the electorate and, as such, must have been understood and evaluated by Thucydides. Nevertheless, to distinguish the reasons which led to specific actions is not easy. For example, although the historian seems aware of the economic implications and consequences of the Megarian Decree,⁶ he apparently does not consider the measure as the result of economic motives. As Pericles is made to say, "For this small matter [i.e. the Megarian Decree] involves the whole confirmation and trial of your resolution. If you yield, you will at once be subjected to some other greater demand, on the ground that you made this concession through fear. Give them a flat refusal, and you will make it clear that they must treat you more as equals."⁷ In other words, the Decree was a symbol. It was designed as a warning to the states of the Peloponnesian Confederacy, and especially to Corinth, and as a sudden and startling illustration of the power of Athens.⁸ The immediate occasion which

¹ See above, p. 285.

² Thucydides I 103. 3; Diodorus XI 84. 7-8.

³ Walker in *CAH* V 83; Glotz *op. cit.* 149.

⁴ Thucydides I 115. 1; Walker *loc. cit.* 90-91; Glotz *op. cit.* 164.

⁵ Thucydides I 108. 4; Diodorus XI 78. 3-4; Meritt, Wade-Gery, and McGregor *Tribute Lists* I p. 218; Tod in *CAH* V 17-18.

⁶ Thucydides I 42. 2, 67. 4, 139. 1-2, 144. 2; Grundy *op. cit.* 236-237; Lamb *op. cit.* 39-40; Cornford *op. cit.* 25-38; Abbott *op. cit.* 60-62; Adcock in *CAH* V 186-190; Glotz *op. cit.* 618-619.

⁷ Thucydides I 140. 5.

⁸ Adcock in *CAH* V 186-187. It hardly seems possible to regard the measure as strategical in purpose, for Athens did not effectively occupy Megara. Nor is it

called it forth was apparently the receipt of news that Aristeus and his troops were on the way to Potidaea.¹

The other instances which involve the relations of Athens and the West are rather better attested. It is none the less true, however, that even here motives are mixed. One cannot, for example, exclude the element of naval strategy from many of the actions carried on in the West. Still, in view of what has already been mentioned,² it seems certain that the Athenian mercantile interests, eager to secure the trade from Sicily and Italy, aroused the envy and fear of the competing merchants of Corinth.³ Their resentment flared up when their colony Corcyra opposed their wishes and finally appealed to Athens for help.⁴ About two years before, i.e., in 437 B.C., Athens had answered the call of Acarnania.⁵ Corcyra had more to offer⁶ and perhaps had had long-standing relations with Athens.⁷ In their response to the petition the Athenians were wary and alert. The defensive alliance which they concluded resulted from their wish not to permit the Corcyraean fleet to unite with the Corinthian but rather to embroil them the one with the other; and from a deep appreciation of the value of the place as a port of call on the voyage to Sicily and Italy. The latter reason made Corcyra, and Epidamnus also, valuable to Corinth. In addition, Corinth was jealous of Corcyra. Being wealthy, the Corcyraeans were inclined to look down upon their metropolis;⁸ and the Corinthians are made to complain, with the Corcyraeans specifically in mind, that the possession of wealth has led to many wrongful acts.⁹

reasonable to consider it as a form of retaliation for the revolt of 446 (Thucydides I 114. 1) or, as Bury assumes (*History of Greece*, ed. Modern Library, 1937, p. 377), for Megarian participation in the battle of Sybota.

¹ Thucydides I 60. 2.

² See above, pp. 290-291.

³ For Sicilian and Italian delicacies in Athens see Pseud.-Xen. *Ath. Pol.* II 7.

⁴ Thucydides I 24-45; Adcock in *CAH* V 178-180; Glotz *op. cit.* 614-616.

⁵ See above, p. 285.

⁶ Thucydides I 36. 2-3, 44. 2-3.

⁷ I 136. 1 and Grundy *op. cit.* 142-143, where it is suggested that Athenian dealings with Corcyra went back as far as Themistocles' "western policy."

⁸ Thucydides I 25. 4.

⁹ I 38. 6, 40. 1.

The nature of Athenian interest in the West was made clear by the expedition under Laches in 427 B.C.¹ At that time Cleon's aggressive policy was in force. Accordingly, when the allies of Leontini asked for help, Athens was glad to render it. However altruistic their alleged reason, the motives of the Athenians were unmistakable: they wished to prevent Sicilian grain from reaching the Peloponnesus and they wished to see whether they could get control of Sicilian affairs.² It is difficult to believe that a similar objective did not lie behind the expeditions of 425.³ Apparently as a result of instructions given by the Athenian people, Demosthenes landed and built a fort at Pylos.⁴ The site and the harbor would have been valuable as a base for blockading vessels or as a port of call for grain ships on the way from Sicily. Nevertheless, the chief justification of the encampment was as a military measure which would, and did, arouse great concern at Sparta.⁵ As time was to prove, the occupation of Pylos greatly distressed the Lacedaemonians through losses in supplies and property and also through the restlessness it produced among the Helots. In the following year the Athenian forces, continuing the policy which kept their fleets moving around the Peloponnesus to the West, seized and occupied the island of Cythera.⁶ The action was a form of *ἐπιτελιςμός*. It was also designed to cut off the Spartan food supply, since it was at this point that the grain transports from Egypt and Libya put in. About the same time, presumably, the Athenians established a small fortress in Laconia to aid them on their journeys back and forth to Sicily.⁷

Such were the mingled motives which attracted the Athenians to

¹ III 86; IV 60. 1, 61. 3; Glotz *op. cit.* 640-641; Adcock in *CAH* V 222-225; Grundy *op. cit.* 360-367; "The True Cause of the Peloponnesian War," *Classical Quarterly* VII (1913) 61.

² Thucydides III 86. 4.

³ IV 2. 2.

⁴ For the Pylos episode see IV 1-41; Cornford *op. cit.* 82-109; Abbott *op. cit.* 93-106; Lamb *op. cit.* 53-55; Grundy *Thucydides and the History of his Age* 354-359; Adcock in *CAH* V 230-235; Glotz *op. cit.* 643-646.

⁵ Thucydides IV 3. 2-3, 4. 2, 6. 1, 8. 2, 80. 2; V 14. 2-3, 115. 2; VI 105. 2; VII 18. 3, 26. 2. For the moral effect see VII 18. 2.

⁶ IV 53; V 18. 7; Adcock in *CAH* V 238; Glotz *op. cit.* 648.

⁷ Thucydides VIII 4.

the West. That an economic element entered into their calculations can hardly be denied; nor can it be maintained that Thucydides was blind to this interest. Bound up as it was with issues of naval strategy and military policy, it united with them to lead the Athenians on, ultimately, to the great expedition of 415 B.C. Concern for Sicilian and Italian trade had long been a feature of Athenian economic life.¹ There is no need, however, to assume, with Cornford,² the existence in the Piraeus of a commercial party or clique so powerful that it could force the hand of Pericles, secure the passage of the Megarian Decrees, and secretly arrange for the alliance between Athens and Corcyra. The view claims more than can be proved. Moreover, although Corinth was angered by Athenian advances, Thucydides deliberately states that their complaints did not persuade the Lacedaemonians to declare war.³

The expedition of 415 was a natural continuance of earlier interests. It was made possible, in part, by the Peace of 421, which, though not effective or enduring, greatly relieved financial strain.⁴ Even Nicias admitted that Athens had achieved some economic recovery, although he was careful to urge that such surpluses should be devoted entirely to domestic uses.⁵ Many of the Sicilian cities, he warned, had great resources at their command.⁶ What was perhaps most significant, these cities, unlike the Athenians, did not have to depend upon imported grain. They would not, however, be able to maintain the Athenian forces, if the latter should be sent to Sicily.⁷ In spite of Nicias' advice, the *ekklesia* was persuaded and three thousand talents were reserved for the expedition.⁸ Although grandiose ruthlessness and irresponsibility contributed their share to the result, the basic motive which convinced the Athenians was a desire for economic aggrandizement. In a speech which Alcibiades delivered before the Spartans, he described what the Athenian objectives had been.⁹

¹ See above, pp. 290-291.

² *Op. cit.* 25-51.

³ I 88.

⁴ Ferguson *Treasurers* 155-156; *IG* I² 99; Tod *op. cit.* no. 77, pp. 193-195.

⁵ Thucydides VI 12. 1.

⁶ VI 20. 4.

⁷ VI 22.

⁸ *IG* I² 99, l. 28; Tod *loc. cit.*

⁹ Thucydides VI 90. 2-4.

They had sailed to Sicily and Italy, he said, in order to obtain ship-timber, money, and grain. With the help of these resources they then had planned to rule the entire Greek world. Alcibiades' views were important, since he was the chief advocate of the expedition. Moreover, he seems to have had personal motives.¹ Through such a venture he may have hoped to reimburse himself for the expenses into which his extravagant habits had led him. We are told that even Carthage, which was known to be wealthy,² fell within the range of his ambition and whetted his desire for wealth.³ As in the beginning, so at the end of the expedition economic issues presented themselves.⁴ At the last phase of the conflict, when even Demosthenes wished to withdraw the Athenian forces from Sicily,⁵ Nicias refused to move the troops because he felt that the resources of the Athenians in money were still greater than those which the Syracusans could command.⁶ When all was over, those who had remained in Athens were depressed not only by the staggering losses in men and ships but also by the thought that they now had no money for building new ships or for hiring crews.⁷

The instances which have been adduced in the preceding pages are simple. Certainly no one should use them as evidence that Thucydides had a developed sense of economic motivation. It is indeed an arguable point that a thoroughgoing feeling for such causes can exist only at a time when abundant documentary evidence is readily available. In a sense, a developed conception of economic relationships is concerned less with admitted facts than with their interpretation. It is possible that Thucydides' attitude will reveal itself more clearly in connection with his discussion of the essentially different bases upon

¹ VI 12. 2, 15. 3.

² VI 34. 2.

³ VI 15. 2.

⁴ Relatively unimportant though the evidence is, one may note that the individual private soldier also looked forward to making profit out of the expedition (VI 24. 3), that many vessels, loaded with merchandise, accompanied the fleet (VI 44. 1), and that, when the Athenians learned that they had been deceived by the Segestaeans, the result upon their morale was serious (VI 6. 2, 46).

⁵ VII 47. 3-4.

⁶ VII 48. 5-6.

⁷ VIII 1. 2.

which the Athenian state and the Peloponnesian Confederacy were supported.

The broad distinction is stated by the Corinthians with epigrammatic clarity and brevity. "The power of the Athenians," they say, "is not so much native (*οἰκεία*) as purchased (*ὠνητή*)." ¹ In other words, it lay rather in wealth than in man-power. Their wealth, in turn, resulted from their maritime empire ² and their overwhelming sea-power. ³ Could the Athenians have settled upon an island, their position would have been completely unassailable. ⁴ As it was, their wealth made them confident ⁵ and their grasping acquisitiveness made them reckless. ⁶ Not primarily an agrarian people, they spent much of their time and energy abroad in the pursuit of trade. "In a word," said the Corinthians, "if one should sum up their character and say that they were designed by nature neither to have peace themselves nor to allow others to have peace, he would speak the truth." ⁷ It was trade and economic exploitation of their allies which gave Athenian life many of its distinctive qualities. In this way the citizens were enabled to have a reasonably comfortable life and to enjoy the good things of the earth. ⁸ They were able to realize the meaning of their democratic government and participate in public affairs. ⁹ Moreover, the economic basis of their life determined their manner of self-defense and the tactics they employed. It made possible their vast war-funds. The Athenians concentrated their attention on their fleet and tended to neglect Attica. ¹⁰ They were accordingly led to disparage the importance of hoplites. ¹¹ The economic surpluses which the Athenians enjoyed enabled them to hire mercenaries. ¹² Their means

¹ I 121. 3.

² I 80. 3, 81. 2, 83. 2, 85. 1; II 13. 2, 38. 2; III 13. 6, 39. 8, 46. 4; IV 87. 3.

³ I 142. 2-5, 143. 3-5; II 62. 2; Pseud.-Xen. *Ath. Pol.* II 6. In Thucydides VI 20. 4 it is implied that Athens was not a land-power.

⁴ Thucydides I 143. 5; Pseud.-Xen. *Ath. Pol.* II 14.

⁵ See above, p. 287, note 5.

⁶ Thucydides I 70.

⁷ I 70. 9.

⁸ II 38. 2; Pseud.-Xen. *Ath. Pol.* II 7, 11-12.

⁹ Thucydides II 37. 1; Pseud.-Xen. *Ath. Pol.* I 2-3.

¹⁰ Thucydides I 121. 3, 143. 4-5; II 65. 7; Pseud.-Xen. *Ath. Pol.* I 19.

¹¹ Thucydides II 13. 6-8; Pseud.-Xen. *Ath. Pol.* II 1.

¹² Thucydides I 121. 3.

of defense prescribed their tactics.¹ "If," says Pericles, "[the Lacedaemonians] invade our land, we shall sail to theirs, and then they will find that the devastation of all of Attica is not so serious as that of a part of the Peloponnese. For they will not be able to secure in compensation another land except by fighting for it, while we have abundant land both in the islands and on the mainland." The theory was carried out in practice and led to various raiding expeditions² and to the establishment of such ἐπιτειχισμοί as Pylos, Cythera, and an unnamed fortress in Laconia.³

The situation of Sparta, Athens' chief opponent, was wholly different. Hers was an agrarian economy and the Lacedaemonians were not accustomed to conduct distant military operations.⁴ Moreover, as compared with Athens,⁵ Sparta was poverty stricken.⁶ Its citizens, moreover, while willing enough to serve in person, were reluctant to spend what little money they had, for they felt sure that, before the war should come to its end, they would have lost all their wealth.⁷ And yet, if they were to meet the Athenians fairly on their own element, they would have to acquire a fleet or else take from the Athenians the revenues by which they supported their fleet.⁸ According to the Corinthians, the Peloponnesian Confederacy might develop a suitable naval force, if it should contribute its own funds and should forcibly appropriate the temple treasures at Olympia and Delphi, and use the sums so realized to hire away the mercenary contingents of the Athenian fleet.⁹ There may have been something to the threat (at least at a later date the Athenians did use mercenaries),¹⁰ but the chief reliance of the Confederacy continued to be placed in its hoplite troops.¹¹ The type of force was a natural consequence of an agrarian economy.

¹ I 143. 4; Pseud.-Xen. *Ath. Pol.* II 2-5.

² Thucydides II 23. 2-3, 56. 1-6; IV 42-45; VI 105. 2.

³ VIII 4.

⁴ I 141. 5, 70. 4. They could be effectively attacked only by land. See IV 53. 3.

⁵ I 80. 3-4, 83. 2.

⁶ I 141. 3, 142. 1.

⁷ I 141. 5, 80. 4.

⁸ I 81. 4, 121. 3.

⁹ I 121. 3, 5, 143. 1, 35. 3-4.

¹⁰ VI 43; VII 57. 3, 11; Grundy *op. cit.* 310-313.

¹¹ Pseud.-Xen. *Ath. Pol.* II 1; Grundy *op. cit.* 244-252; Adcock in *CAH* V 193.

It was cautious, self-distrusting, and stubborn. It relied entirely, or nearly so, upon the ancient tactics of invasion and devastation.¹ In connection with a war against Athens, such a method of fighting naturally destroyed considerable property and, as Archidamus shrewdly calculated, aroused much resentment against Pericles and impaired Athenian morale.² But its real effectiveness, as the Spartans came themselves to realize, had been greatly overestimated.³ Indeed, one of the reasons which led to the Peace of Nicias in 421 B.C. was the fact that their tactics were not decisive. It was only when, taking a leaf from Athenian experience,⁴ they established a fortress at Decelea in 413,⁵ that they were able to confront Athenian tactics with effective tactics of their own. Because of that garrison, the Athenians lost completely and continuously the use of their land. Moreover, they were forced to man the Long Walls without respite. Many of their slaves, more than twenty thousand according to Thucydides,⁶ ran away. The supplies which they received from Euboea could no longer be brought to Athens by land but had to be carried by sea around Sunium. Imports ceased, money was scarce, and, "instead of being a city, [Athens] became a camp."⁷

One might, it is true, examine at length other parts of Thucydides to see whether they supply further evidence for the historian's economic views.⁸ In the writer's opinion a fair conclusion can be based upon

¹ Thucydides I 82. 3, 143. 5. For the several invasions of Attica see II 18-23 (431 B.C.); 47. 1-2 (430 B.C.); III 1 (428 B.C.); III 26. 1-3 (427 B.C.); IV 2. 1 (425 B.C.); VII 18 (413 B.C.).

² II 11. 6, 14, 20. 4, 59. 1-2.

³ V 14. 3.

⁴ I.e. as shown by Pylos and Cythera and the fortress in Laconia. Alcibiades is said to have been their teacher. See VII 18. 1.

⁵ VII 18. 1, 19. 1-3, 27-28.

⁶ VII 27. 5.

⁷ VII 28. 1; Ferguson *Treasurers* 164.

⁸ A note should perhaps be added about the Corcyrean *στάσις*. In Thucydides' treatment, perhaps the most powerful analysis of political revolution in ancient literature, the influence of simple economic motives is fully recognized. Some of the individuals at Corcyra were inspired by a natural desire to escape from financial obligations which they had incurred (III 81. 4). "In peace and prosperity," according to Thucydides, "both city-states and individuals have better dispositions because they do not fall into imperious compulsions. But war, which takes away the

what has already been advanced: a tendency on the part of ancient Greeks to view the world in terms of universals; Thucydides' explanation of the "truest exciting cause" of the war; his treatment of imperial and commercial expansion, especially in the Greek West; and his discussion of the different bases of Athenian and Spartan power. A student today is forced inevitably to consider the issues here raised in the light of his own historical preconceptions. The present writer does not accept a theory of strict economic determinism. Motives and causes are entangled, and in each given instance the factors differ mutually in importance. In ancient Greece, where life was probably conducted under much less economic tension than that which exists in the United States at present,¹ other incentives than economic seem often to have moved individuals;² and commercial interests, however important they may have been, were perhaps not widely known and appraised. The absence of large scale industry (except in mining), the domestic manufacture of many commodities, the seasonal character of many occupations, and the relatively generous leisure which citizens enjoyed: these elements probably reduced the impact of economic forces or at least blinded many to their effects.

What Thucydides' attitude was is not easy to determine. It would be foolish to claim, with a modern student of Thucydides,³ that he "is a modern of the moderns," or that he explained historical phenomena with the same emphasis upon economic motives that would appear in many historians today. Certainly, there is nothing to show that Thucydides believed in the existence of unperceived economic forces which, without the electorate's knowledge, determined the policy of

comfortable ways of daily life, teaches lessons of violence" (III 82. 2). *Στάσις* also springs in part from a desire for self-aggrandizement, in which we may assume financial interests to be included (III 82. 6, 8). At such a time, if one tentatively accepts the genuineness of Chapter 84, *τὸ κερδαίνειν* becomes more important than *τὸ μὴ ἀδικεῖν* (III 84. 2). The effort of a submerged social group to escape from poverty may supply the occasion for violent revolution (III 84. 1). This instance and the others which have been noted in the History seem to add little to such relatively simple analysis as has already been observed.

¹ Sabine *History of Political Thought* 4; Ferguson, "*Polis and Idia in Periclean Athens*," *American Historical Review* XLV (1940), pp. 273-278.

² Thucydides II 44. 4.

³ Abbott *op. cit.* 10.

Athens. The present writer feels that Thucydides, perhaps the most gifted and profound observer of politics that ancient thought produced, ascribed to economic elements approximately the importance which they were recognized to possess at the time when the historian lived. Like Sophocles and Pheidias a child of the fifth century, he sought the ideal and the universal. His attempt to discover the simplicities in human conduct that underlie the manifold varieties of experience led to many aphorisms upon many subjects. In so far, however, as his maxims deal with economic motives and effects, they do not go very far. To us at least they may seem rather obvious and simple, although we need not therefore regard them as self-evident to Thucydides' contemporaries.

It has been already suggested that Thucydides went at least a little way beyond rudimentary generalizations. In his discussion of the cause of the war we seem to detect a deeper sense of the relationship which we call economic. For in a world where war was waged chiefly by means of accumulated economic surpluses, such a surplus as Pericles built up was a constant and unmistakable threat. Ultimately, if the reconstruction given above is correct, it aroused the fear and then the hostility of Sparta, which did not possess such advantages. On the other hand, Thucydides' treatment of imperial and commercial expansion is little more than the record of simple acquisitive desires on the part of Athens. Although he recognizes the source of the tribute and the existence of the western trade, he certainly does not emphasize, as most modern writers probably would, the close relationship which presumably connected mercantile interests and Cleon's policy and Alcibiades' schemes. It is rather in his scattered observations upon the different bases of Spartan and Athenian power that a modern reader finds the closest approximation to what may be technically regarded as economic causation. Here Thucydides seems to have grasped a fundamental truth: that the type of economy, agrarian in the case of Sparta and mercantile in the case of Athens, conditioned the manner of living, the instruments of defense, and the methods of war.¹

If Thucydides had an inkling of this truth, the fact must not be

¹ That this notion was current in the latter years of the fifth century may be seen from Pseud.-Xen. *Ath. Pol.* cited above.

pressed too far. It is clear, for example, that he did not connect the three topics summarized in the preceding paragraph and note that they were really one and the same. In any event, he recognized the existence and importance of other motives. Fortunately, perhaps, for his greatness as a historian, Thucydides was not blinded by the fascination of the doctrinaire. In view of his tendency, and the tendency of his age, to interpret human life in terms of universals, we may perhaps regard his economic aphorisms as resulting from a rudimentary sense of economic motivation. Economic facts appeared to him to constitute one — an important one, to be sure, but only one — of the springs of human action. In conjunction with other general causes, with different emphasis in different circumstances, they made for him the nexus of history.

NOTES ON HISTORY AND VALUE

BY ROBERT L. STROOCK

WITH A MEMOIR BY BERNARD BANDLER, M.D.

MEMOIR

ROBERT STROOCK, who had planned to devote his life to the history of the Greeks, died at the age of twenty-five, before his professional training was more than half complete.¹ He had been selected for one of the most difficult and promising fields of research, centering in the inscriptions of fifth-century Athens. His knowledge and his insight were already considerably developed; he had shown the patient intelligence which the subject requires, a subject in which the groundwork is a host of details. What was distinctive and memorable about him, however, was not only an aptitude for difficult scholarship, but rather a combination of that aptitude with an unusual scope of interest and depth of thought. His temperament was ardent but his judgment was cool and objective. He attacked head-on the whole business of existence as a thinking being, never sparing himself; but he was tolerant of the world and its ways.

Stroock entered Harvard College in September 1923. He had enjoyed what are called "advantages" — birth in a secure society; a wider acquaintance among wealthy, cultivated, and clever people than is open to less fortunate boys — wider and at the same time, for him, more difficult. He never felt that the post-war generation was weak or wrong, and he knew that, contrary to what was said by unsympathetic critics, it acknowledged restraints. Its interests and admirations, however, were not his; and he was not at his ease among gay country-clubbish young people. Some effort was needed for a sensitive boy, never robust in health, and much given to reading, to

¹ A selection of his *Letters* appeared posthumously (privately printed at the Southworth Press, Portland, Maine, 1932). Professor Ferguson wrote a brief memoir which stands as a dedication of *Athenian Tribal Cycles*, and a suggestion by Stroock is embodied in his *Treasurers of Athena*, p. 112 (*supra*, Bibliography, nos. 107 and 108).

think out an adjustment, and this effort stimulated his development; for he managed it without loss of charity, and without attempting to find refuge in unrealities. He was thus forced by his very opportunities to discover at an early age what for him were real values. In this he was aided by a strong religious influence of the best sort, in which he had been brought up — an undogmatic religion which inculcated morality rather than fanaticism, which dealt not in narrowing prohibitions but nurtured a catholic love of goodness.

Harvard in the middle and late 'twenties was perhaps never more favorable to an unfettered life of the spirit. The economic depression and later the rise of menacing dictatorships were events of a future he was not to know. The more capable undergraduates of his day devoted themselves to the study of literature, of the fine arts, and of philosophy. History naturally attracted him as an undergraduate, but it was the history of thought and feeling, and the reflection of them in institutions. The grimmer aspects, the bread-and-butter subjects (as they were considered in those years), were less generally studied; their vogue was to come in the 'thirties. In the middle 'twenties there was prosperity and an increasing steadiness as the post-war atmosphere of liberation and of new beginnings lost its first excitement without losing its power to stimulate. Among undergraduates the intellectual ferment was intense but not wild nor mad; its forms were civilized, even urbane; and its content was immense, embracing Homer, the movies, and much in-between. In 1927 an earnest group of undergraduates founded the *Hound and Horn*, which became at once a not unworthy American counterpart of T. S. Eliot's London *Criterion*, and which stands today, having ceased publication early in the 'thirties, as the monument of the Harvard of its time. Stroock was never an editor nor a contributor, his bent was not toward the creative arts; but the group which ran the *Hound and Horn* were his friends, and he was in the midst of that memorable activity of the spirit which left its mark on an entire college generation.

The university itself, like other universities, was expanding. Alfred North Whitehead had come to teach a philosophy which was adequate to the then novel relativistic physics. The new Fogg Art Museum opened wider opportunities to know the world of beauty in plastic and constructional art, and moreover to know it soundly through tech-

nique and the scientific study of design. More important still for Stroock and for most young thinkers, because more directly related to life, was the doctrine of Irving Babbitt. That great and inspiring teacher had profoundly influenced him. When Stroock entered the famous "Comp. Lit. 11," the study of Rousseau and Romanticism, his mind was confused and sceptical. The freshman course in philosophy which had raised such high hopes and promised to open the vistas of wisdom left Stroock disappointed and disillusioned, and since his problems were not purely speculative, greatly depressed. I remember his bitterness and denunciation of philosophy at the end of that academic year. Every man refuted his predecessors. From Plato to Bergson each titan demolished what went before. Everything could be defended, incompatibles proved, truth was an illusion. When inquiry into truth is personal, scepticism means despair. By his message and method, Babbitt finally rescued him from this despair.

The undergraduate curriculum did not provide at once and automatically those values which Stroock was seeking. Concentration and distribution and the tutorial system obliged the student to assemble his ideas in his chosen field and to learn the familiar terms of the vocabularies of two or three others. The system, however, made all subjects equal; and was at the mercy, as are all systems, of the men entrusted with its execution. Babbitt protested against this concept of education and the methods by which the teachers were themselves instructed. Training young men for a vocation, a speciality, or a profession was a peripheral and secondary function of a college; its primary function and central purpose was to show what it meant to be human. The end of education was to prepare men for the responsibilities of life, as citizens and leaders in a democracy, as ethical individuals who could discern standards and realize values apart from the authority of custom, the absolutism of dogma, and the dictatorship of caprice. To that end there was the experience of mankind, recorded in its history, religion, art, and literature, and particularly in the life of the Greeks. History was the laboratory in which the experiments of civilization had been performed. Time, accident, and the considered judgment of mankind had sifted the grain from the chaff; it was the task of the teacher to reveal, of the student to assimilate, these values. But this presupposed a similar education of the

teacher, he in his turn must have been exposed to the wisdom of the past. Thus his courses did not always satisfy Stroock: a course-grade of A on his study of a certain English author, for instance, was a poor substitute for the comment and discussion Stroock had expected. There was pabulum in Symphony Hall on Saturday nights, more yeast of spirit in discussion in dormitories.

Stroock's reading extended his search. Paul Elmer More impressed him less than Babbitt; he appeared less vigorous and contemporary, a little too remote, complacent, and genteel. Matthew Arnold was enthusiastically enjoyed; yet there was a dichotomy between his poetry and his prose, an unresolved conflict of spirit. However broad, his concept of culture, in its emphasis on self-perfection, appeared self-centered and smug. Possibly Stroock's activities in the Liberal Club, his interest in social problems and his awareness of the economic ills of mankind contributed to his scepticism of a too rarefied and precious view of life. Santayana influenced but did not intoxicate him. The prose was too lapidary, the detachment too disembodied, the wisdom too emancipated from the conditions of everyday existence.

In his Sophomore year Stroock was floundering intellectually. The decision to concentrate in History and Literature was the product of many factors not yet clearly in mind. His father's example, his own taste for literature, the fascination of history, his disenchantment with philosophy, the influence of Babbitt, the pressure of his need to arrive at a philosophy of life, the desire to understand the present, were among the factors. He finally chose English history, more as an adjunct and background of English literature than for any other reason.

At the end of his Junior year the problem of a career became more definite. The pressure was moral rather than economic. But emancipation from financial need only made the problem more acute; it extended possibilities and left for criteria of choice the essentials of aptitude, interest, and value. What was he capable of doing? What is the good life and how could he live it? He considered awhile becoming a rabbi, but concluded that the essence and message of his faith could be lived and preached better in secular life than in a formal religion. His Senior year at college saw the gradual resolution of his problem. Considering his scholarly tastes, his capacity for work, his aptitude for research, his interest in history, his inner life and prophetic zeal, the

decision to be an historian was fundamentally an acceptance of himself and of the media in which he could best work.

With his career decided on, two problems increasingly concerned Stroock. The first was the nature of history, what is the historian's essential task, the second was, to what field of history should he devote his energies. The historian as a mere narrator of the chronology of facts held no interest for him. Facts were the necessary oils with which to fill his canvas, but how selected and arranged? The historian who tried to find a meaning in history or who denied it occupied him more. Stroock had great respect for Henry Adams and he struggled for a year in his theories of history. In considering the history, Stroock began with the historian. That the *Education* should be written in the third person seemed odd; it was both an evasion and a false detachment. That there should be no mention of his wife and marriage seemed extraordinary. However understandable it might be, to omit the most significant of experiences was to falsify an education. True, there was more than ample tribute to the Virgin; she was the dynamo, the energizer of thirteenth-century unity; but she was woman as diety, as mother, comforter, and solace. And in *Democracy* Mrs. Lightfoot Lee was woman as mind. Nor did Adams' repudiation of active politics seem wholly justified by his contempt for the corruption of the post-Civil-War period; beneath the true analysis there was excessive sensitivity, squeamishness, and passivity. There was almost a captious and arbitrary quality in him which could make his great history of the United States begin with the end of the presidency of a great-grandfather and end with the beginning of the presidency of a grandfather. But Adams had presented a challenge in his theories of history which the contemporary historian refuted by ignoring. If history was a tangled skein devoid of weaving, as passages in the *Education* suggested, or a process of regeneration of energy according to the second law of thermodynamics, as suggested in the *Degradation of the Democratic Dogma*, the writing of history would be a private enthusiasm, and the purpose of the historian merely to amuse, distract, or lament. Stroock did not think it necessary to answer the final theory in detail; he thought it a false physical analogy, as he considered Spengler's theories false biological analogies. But the great problem of meaning in history he thought fundamental. If the tangled

skein had no pattern, then the historian had no purpose; and yet only the apologist or metaphysician could determine a specious pattern in its infinite diversity.

In the end Stroock solved the problem by restating it. There was no meaning or law or revelation in history, no single comprehensive pattern. But men in history achieved meaning; periods attained greatness, and civilization flourished. In the contents of different times visions were seen, ideas grasped, and values lived by men who are fundamentally alike from our day to that of the Romans, the Greeks, "to Abraham, Noah and his son to Eve." Because of men's common nature the most disparate circumstances may lead to similar truths. And particularly in the most noble periods of the past men have achieved a richness, fulness, and harmony of life unknown to their successors.

The function of the historian is to resurrect and represent such periods, their partiality and their wholeness. He is like an artist. The artist deals with values and vision, he sees, selects, and organizes according to the nature of his medium. Technical excellence is required, he must be master of his medium. But in default of imagination, of a penetrating and absorbing illumination of his subject, the artist fails to sustain our attention. Now the historian is in fact an artist, an artist who uses the past as his medium. The facts and details, chronology, customs and events must be mastered by him. But these are the mere materials of history; and it is with them that most contemporary historians appeared to stop. They were like linguists who could tell no more of a foreign tongue than its vocabulary and grammar. The historian must see through to his material and recapture the greatness and the glory.

What period in history was to be his medium? The greater part of his first graduate year was spent in writing his paper on the American Constitution. Yet neither American history, nor English history, on which he had written his undergraduate thesis, seemed to content him. A remark made in conversation by Santayana and repeated to Stroock impressed him greatly. If I had my life to live again, said Santayana, I would not write the *Life of Reason*, but the *History of the Greeks*. But the remark impressed Stroock because it gave sanction to what he wanted to do. Given his moral fervor, his theory of history as art, and

the supremacy by common consent of Greek civilization, what other subject could he have chosen? The choice once made, Stroock began the study of the Greeks. When he arrived at the American School at Athens the following fall, one year after graduation, he was competent to participate in its activities.

The year in Greece was a tremendous one. The ancient world struck him with the miraculous freshness and majesty of a Pallas Athena new sprung from Zeus. The Parthenon, Olympia, Delphi, Greek vases and inscriptions, the tragedians, historians, and Plato roused his senses and mind to inexhaustible activity. Days were passed in minute measurements of the Parthenon, in arduous travel, in tireless scrutiny and comparison of epigraphical texts. People in America, as their letters revealed them in the lucid Athenian light, were tangled in trivialities; there was more life and passion in a piece of sculpture. Americans in Greece had something to do, something of importance; in America they were aimless and floundering. Given a task and a vision what dream-bound energies might not emerge! The thought of continuing to live in Greece or elsewhere in Europe was dismissed as he contemplated his future activity. He could only function fully as an American in America and there translate his vision into his native tongue.

Upon his return to Cambridge Stroock plunged fervently into work, and it was only interrupted when beginning in the spring of the year the final illness made work impossible.

Among his papers were found a series of notes dealing with History and Value. These notes were written obviously for his own satisfaction: he had revised them, but it is doubtful whether he intended them for publication in this form. They appear rather to have been conceived as the kernel of an eventual larger work. Stroock had a sure grasp of what constitutes scientific proof in history, and he would never have claimed that these notes *proved* anything in that sense: instead, they are intuitions, as he would have urged, direct and immediate, untested but perhaps worthy of consideration. The essential parts are printed here because they have, I think, a significance beyond their actual content; they show a young historian who, though still in the course of a strict training, a discipline which he had undergone gladly and already with marked successes, at the same time kept his mind fixed also on ultimate problems.

NOTES ON HISTORY AND VALUE

History is the study of the past. It is the study, said Bacon, corresponding to the faculty of memory in man. That we are a product of the past does not concern me for the present. The study of American history and what lies beyond, so far as it is relevant, or of what lies beyond the other influences that have formed us and are forming us from other countries, is, when considered in this fashion, of small moment. We may see in it how our institutions have arisen, our conventions of whatever kind, our systems of thought, our literary or artistic standards, our governmental forms, our morality, our language. Such a study may give us a perspective for what is most vital in them; it may apologize for the obsolescent; it may stimulate us to treasure what was hard won; it may indicate the direction in which we are moving. But, though it may add breadth, it does not add relevance to the conventions. The conventions are here with their relevance and their values entirely aside from what they have been or what they may become. Though tracing the chain of influences may serve in some instances to magnify for our inspection what we might otherwise pass over, it can do no more. And ultimately we should have to include a history really universal to complete the chain. And still, having found the relations of everything, we should have disclosed the value of nothing.

Such a study of history is not a reconstruction of experience. It is, therefore, not really history, no matter what section of links we may choose to trace. It is merely an extraction from experience of what is with no value. It is not an account of the past, for in the past men lived, and followed ideals, and found in their lives values, a meaning, which they expressed in their way of life. The products of their way of life are to be found expressed in their culture, their art, institutions, and, broadest of all, their conduct. Through their insight, the geniuses who moulded any civilization saw an ideal way of life which was filled with meaning; which resolved teeming experience into something relevant; which gave to their existence an ideal, a star; which presented an ideal of worthy living, of the good life. They pointed toward it by precept and by example, by bearing the fruits of imitating in their lives their own ideal way of life. Furthermore, they described it by symbols.

* * *

What is this way of life? It is an ideal activity. Moreover it is a human activity. Plato (*Rep.* VI 500) calls those who grasp it, his philosopher-kings in this case, "artists who imitate the heavenly pattern." "And when they are filling in the work, as I conceive, they will often turn their eyes upwards and downwards. I mean that they will first look at absolute justice, and beauty, and temperance, and again at the human copy; and will mingle and temper the various elements of life into the image of a man; and this they will conceive according to that other image, which, when existing among men, Homer calls the form and likeness of God. . . . And one feature they will erase, and another they will put in until they have made the ways of men, as far as possible, agreeable to the ways of God." We may disregard as irrelevant for the moment the political activities of the guardians of the ideal state and suppose each to govern only himself. The passage then induces the following thoughts respecting the way of life:

1. That the conceived way of life, the heavenly pattern, comes from experience, and is, in this sense, a revelation.

2. That it is one, including more than the human life from which it sprang is possibly capable of attaining, but, except metaphysically, nothing more than the human life can conceive, nothing beyond its field of experience.

3. That it is the highest conceived value in life.

4. That it may be analyzed into its chief component parts (just as Plato has justice, temperance, wisdom, courage, beauty, etc., partake of the good which is all-inclusive).

5. That those elements in a religious creed or a philosophic background which do not essentially belong to the ideal way of life arise from simple wonder and fear of nature, of the powers human or otherwise which affect life, and develop into tutelary geniuses or furies or into those aspects of a monotheistic or highly developed polytheistic creed in which physical power is attributed to the deity; or they arise from the metaphysical necessity of completing the structure of the universe, which is the same thing grown logical. These elements of the creed may be looked upon, in discussing a civilization, in the same light as the scientific beliefs of the age: together they constitute a part of experience as being the explanation of the phenomena of experience. They are to be distinguished from the ideal way of life, which is a perception of value.

Three modifications of the foregoing remarks are of great importance. In the first place, the symbols of a civilization expressing its deepest ideas seldom, if ever, divorce structure from the way of life. Secondly, the way of life is never described as one in its entirety — how could it be, seeing that it includes a great realm of possibility? — but is either expressed in the chief aims into which it is analyzable, or as a synthesis of aims not mutually exclusive. Thirdly, it lies in the background of thought: only the conscious philosophers attempt to describe it, and they present the problem as to whether an age is to be considered by its conventions or by its geniuses, who may be a hundred years ahead, or to what extent by each.

* * *

A consideration of the development of John Bull and to what extent he is a picture of the ideal way of life; a comparison of John Bull with Uncle Sam, La France, Athena; an examination of how Mary superseded Jesus as the deity to whom most attention was paid; an explanation of how the ideal way of life was not Mary, for example, but her possible worshippers, subjects, favorites, friends; — these things might illustrate the points made above. An account of the reasons given by Columbus, for example, specifically and by inference, for making his first voyage across the Atlantic, would show how the ideal way of life is the essence of symbolic actions (such as going on a Crusade, getting gold and power for himself, his king, and his church, the finding of new lands and new experiences, etc.). Such symbolic actions and the symbols by which they are expressed are dead, unintelligible, at most thrillingly strange and wonderful without re-interpretation in modern symbols, and, if possible, symbolic actions. Do not symbols (primarily words) contain the illusion of symbolic actions, and do not symbolic actions contain the illusion of the way of life? Symbol and illusion require much definition and analysis. Also, most important and most difficult of all, the relation of the ideal way of life to the good. The ideal way of life is the good as experienced or conceived by a civilization. As the ideal way of life is to be expressed in modern symbols, the historian of any great epoch, that is of an epoch which he thinks has found the good, is an original philosopher working with the material of the past epoch as it has descended to him: he has himself

conceived the good and his ideal way of life and is able to express it. [A friend] would define his philosopher as an artist (cf. Plato) who uses reason as his medium. That is, as I conceive it, the philosopher, through the medium of reason, presents an illusion of the good, displays the ideal way of life. The medium of the historian is not reason, except if it be the reason of men in his chosen epoch. The historian's material is the past as it descends to him, and his medium narrative, description, and the smallest possible accretion of exposition (which, as distinguished from description in this case, uses the symbols of the past) and argument (moralizing, comparisons odious to present and past alike). Great learning is necessary, but the use of it should be selective, and it should never stick out like the ribs of a starved horse. The element of value is that which is displayed in the illusions he gives.

The physical symbol is remarkably tenacious. Its meaning or its effect is constantly changing, and in time may practically reverse itself. The word "God" is an example of the former, the jury system, or the French style of the thirteenth century, or *Madame Bovary* of the latter. Such continuity is therefore almost meaningless and is likely to be a pitfall to the historian who is looking for the meaning of a past civilization, or for the statesman, or for anyone else similarly situated. No institution, no word, no custom of any sort can be considered properly aside from its context, for it is modified and its nature is determined by every other institution, word, or custom, and above all by the habits, the ideals, and the ends of the people which determine its meaning and its effect. The observation of the continuity of things and their slow changes tells us nothing about the causes of the change, or its nature, or significance, or relevance. It tells us only that most men are unreasonably conventional, which is apparent without the aid of historical science. Although, therefore, if we find any custom, any physical symbol, the seeds of which we can not find in what went before, as with the generations of men, we may assume that our knowledge is faulty; an account merely of its generation, growth, and decay tells us no more of its meaning or effect than a bald genealogical table tells us of the lives and worth of the men whose names it records. For the unity in time of the ideal way of life we must search elsewhere.

The fact of importance is, not that America was discovered, but that Columbus discovered it. In his ideal to sail westward; in his desire to plant European culture in a new soil, with all his crusading and national spirit, and boundless ambition; in his recognition of the physical and aesthetic possibilities of the new world; in his ideas of colonial government; in everything he did from his boyhood to his humiliation and death, the genius of Columbus is as clearly written on the history of America as that of Vespucci is upon its name. His career is perfectly fitted to the most typical and prevalent bit of moralizing that the Renaissance produced: namely, that Fortune raised him so high that he might have the greater fall. Fortune was blamed for much in those days when the spirit of man (as Plato might have used the expression) ran over-high. Yet Columbus during his terrible fourth voyage had the genius to find the solution of the riddle of his fortunes and the consolation of his life. He found its meaning in a more perfect comprehension of what he was after, recognizing that he had followed his way of life, and deciding that it was good. I should rather forget the somewhat vulgar way in which, like the others of his time, he used the consolations of a superstitious religion as well. He could really have done without them, and they did come as an afterthought, and even, at times, take on a new form and meaning from the acceptance of the way of life which he had worked out as his own. Americans still inherit the shadow of Columbus' genius, as is apparent in Lewis Mumford's *The Golden Day*. But in America's outward aspects, in both its relation to and its divorce from Europe, it is as if we could trace the features of Columbus, its great-great-grandfather.

My portrait of a past civilization may differ from that of Henry Adams or another for one of several reasons: we may be looking at a different order of facts, or we may be assigning to them different values (which is the same thing as saying, describing them in different ways), or we may be putting a different emphasis upon one assigned value than on another — for all of which reasons the scientific historical principles are important, so that from the greater breadth of experience a generality may come which strikes deeper at the roots of common human nature — or we may be interpreting differently from the differences in our backgrounds or points of view — for which reason intellectual honesty and penetrating insight are essential qualities.

SUMMARIES OF DISSERTATIONS FOR THE DEGREE
OF PH.D., 1939-1940

J. P. ELDER.—*De Servii commentariis Danielinis, ut aiunt, in
Aeneidos libros primum et secundum confectis.*¹

IN 1600 Pierre Daniel, French jurist and bibliophile, published from a few early manuscripts (assigned to no author) a Virgilian commentary over the origin of which scholars until the last few decades have been sharply divided. For this new, unidentified commentary not only included, with but few variations, the well-known commentary attributed in many manuscripts to Servius (*ed. pr.* 1469) but also lengthy and highly interesting notes, woven into the Servian material, from which alone come many of our fragments of early writers and much of our knowledge of ancient lore. Over the value of these new comments there was no more dispute than what naturally would arise from their dubious origin; as to their authorship, however, scholars were lined up in three rival camps: some claimed that the longer commentary (DS) was the genuine work of Servius, of which the shorter (S) was but an epitome; others held that the DS commentary consisted merely of additions to the S material which were gleaned from various sources at various times during the Middle Ages; still others within our own time have thought to see in these two bodies of scholia two *distinct* commentaries. The amount of study which each editor gave to the textual problems of the DS scholia depended upon his explanation of their origin. Since most editors, as the latest, Thilo, have adhered to the second school, the text of the DS commentary has received rather sorry treatment.

Inasmuch as scholars recently, however, have shown that the DS commentary is as well-articulated and as homogeneous as the S and actually a combination of the notes of Servius and some older commentator (Donatus?), it would seem useful before the new *editio Harvardiana* appears (which for the first time will sensibly arrange the two commentaries in parallel columns) to investigate the relationship and value of all the sources of the DS text on Aen. I-II.

¹ Degree in Classical Philology.

These sources are: (1) Cassellanus Bibl. Publ. Ms. Poet. Fol. 6 (*C*) of which, unluckily, eight gatherings are lost. (2) Parisinus Bibl. Nat. lat. 1750 (*P*) which does not furnish the complete sort of text seen in *C* but only an epitome. (3) some DS scholia (*Vet. Fuld.*) excerpted from a Fulda MS. and entered by Daniel in the margins of his Fabricius edition of Virgil (Bern. Bibl. Publ. 0.51). (4) an appendix (*f*) to Daniel's edition in which the editor promises to add to his text, with page and line references given, whatever *new* DS material Scioppius had sent him from some Fulda MS.

Since many quaternions of *C* are missing and *P*'s version is abbreviated, for much of the commentary one must depend entirely upon Daniel's *Vet. Fuld.* notes and *f*. But the *Vet. Fuld.* notes, highly useful so far as they extend, are few and infrequent. Our chief source, consequently, for passages where *C* is not extant is *f*. Inasmuch, however, as *f* does not offer a full text but merely additions to Daniel's text, which already contained not a little DS material, I have first examined whence Daniel derived his scholia.

Daniel drew his S material from a MS. of the γ class and from one of the σ class¹ (or from a conflated MS.?), and his DS notes from: (1) *P*. (2) four long DS excerpts which Franciscus Modius, who had unearthed a DS codex at Fulda in 1584, quoted in his edition of Justin in 1587. (3) a binion of some Fulda MS. which contained DS scholia on Aen. I, 709-734. This binion I believe, from studying entries in Daniel's *Vet. Fuld.* notes and private papers (Cod. Bern. Bibl. Publ. 189, part 47, fol. 1^b), was sent to Daniel by Modius. Since *C* gives out in the middle of the DS note on Aen. I 716 (and therefore this binion could not have come from *C*) and *f* makes practically no changes, our sole source for this long section, as for some of those which Daniel drew from Modius's edition of Justin, is Daniel's text.

From a study of the correspondence of Daniel, Scaliger, Modius, Scioppius and Bongars, I have tried to reconstruct Daniel's procedure. Apparently he had constituted his text from his S codices and from

¹ The γ codices have been described by J. J. Savage, "Manuscripts of Servius's Commentary on Virgil," *Harv. Stud. Class. Philol.*, XLV (1934), pp. 190-204, the β codices by J. J. Savage, *op. laud.* pp. 159-190, and the σ codices by A. F. Stocker, *De Novo Codicum Servianorum Genere* (diss. Harv., 1939), a summary of which is given in *Harv. Stud. Class. Philol.*, L (1939), pp. 123-126.

P and was about to send his work to the printer when he learned from Modius of the existence of this longer MS. at Fulda. In response to his requests, Modius sent him *speciminis causa* a binion (which Daniel returned). The notes from this and from Modius's edition of Justin Daniel incorporated in his text and awaited eagerly a full collation. Until 1598 he waited — but in vain. In that year he reluctantly sent his text to press. Later Modius finally sent him some excerpts (*Vet. Fuld.* notes) and in 1599 Scioppius, who had exposed himself to sure importunity from Daniel by printing some excerpts from a Fulda MS. in his *De Arte Critica* and *Suspectarum Lectionum Libri Quinque* in 1597, sent on a full collation of his MS. to Daniel. The latter, or his printer, compared this with the already composed text and added the awkward *Variarum Lectionum Appendix* (f).

Thilo argued from incomplete evidence that Modius and Scioppius merely copied *C*, which Prof. Lehmann has declared was probably written at Fulda. But since *f* and *Vet. Fuld.* not only often agree against *C* in variant readings but also frequently add the same words to the text of *C*, I have concluded that Modius and Scioppius copied a MS. related to, but independent of, *C*. From a study of what we may reconstruct of this lost MS. (*F*) and the evidence of *C*, *C*², *C*⁴, and *C*⁵ (for these correctors seem to have drawn from the original of *C*), I have made some inferences about the script and dimensions of the archetypal MS. (Φ).

But we may go back farther than this. For *P* agrees with these sources in so many striking errors that one may make some fairly safe conjectures about the "proarchetypal" MS. whence they all descend. That it was in a continuous, Insular script seems sure. With this fact in mind we may better attempt to emend some of the textual *cruces* which all our sources offer.

Finally I have made some conjectures, tentative but perhaps useful, about the MSS. which the compiler (Irish ?) of the commentaries of Servius and Donatus used. Donatus's scholia, untitled, I fancy, and probably deficient at the start, the compiler may have found written *passim* in the margins of some codex of Virgil. Thus one can understand why he often inserted DS notes in incorrect order in his combined version. His Servian MS. was surely of the β class (very close to *A J K*). One may often, then, emend the DS text in common

passages from MSS. of this family; on the other hand, for the editor of Servius an agreement between the DS codices and the β class of Servian MSS., impressive as such may seem at first, does not necessarily give the true Servian text but merely the reinforced reading of the β family.

In this dissertation, in short, I have examined all the sources for DS scholia on Aen. I-II — both those which Daniel used in the sixteenth century and those which are available to us today, and have attempted to establish their relationships and values.

A. MURRAY FOWLER. — *Expressions for "Immortality" in the early Indo-European languages, with special reference to the Rig-Veda, Homer, and the Poetic Edda.*¹

THE purpose of this study is the collection and examination of the expressions for "immortality" occurring in the Rig-Veda, Homer, and the Poetic Edda. The ultimate proposal of which it is a part is the investigation of linguistic evidence for a belief in immortality common to all the Indo-European-speaking peoples.

In selecting the material to be examined for this purpose, two primary qualifications were kept in mind: first, that each text should, as far as possible, represent an Indo-European language in its earliest recorded state; second, that it should in each case be a document of considerable length. Both these were requisites of the study itself as a semantic problem in comparative Indo-European philology. Since no scientific method yet exists in semantics, the meaning of even well-established Indo-European forms can be ascertained only by the most cautious comparison of their derivatives in the earliest known records of two or more languages; and in order to isolate independent developments within each separate language these records must necessarily be the longest continuous texts available. Fortunately, Homer and the Rig-Veda present ample material for examination, and both are indubitably "early"; they are both rich sources of information. The Poetic Edda, although equally well qualified, proves in the event to be not quite so satisfactory, the lapse of many centuries having obscured the semantic development so completely as to make

¹ Degree in Comparative Philology.

most of the evidence dubious and therefore for this purpose worthless. It should, however, be recorded that no exact expression for "immortality" is to be found in this text.

In order to guard against oversight in the reading of each document, a check-list of the Sanskrit and Norse cognates was compiled at once after the survey of the Greek material, this list then being amplified similarly by the words found in each successive text examined, the final register serving as a complete compilation of all forms which might possibly be expected to occur. By the use of concordances it was thus possible to follow up any mistakes or omissions of the first reading, and (as is more important) to trace at least to some extent the semantic history of those forms which, although not precisely meaning "immortal" or "immortality," might, from their use in another language, be supposed to bear such a connotation or implication.

The final arrangement of these expressions has been made according to the conventional Indo-European order, words from all languages being grouped together under their common Indo-European base. Presented in an appendix (as being an Indian rather than an Indo-European problem) is a summary of the evidence for and against the existence of *samsāra* in the Rig-Vedic period. The word itself does not occur in the Rig-Veda.

A review of the expressions thus collected permits two generalizations to be made: (1) words which clearly and certainly mean "immortality" occur only in the negative; (2) the "immortality" thus expressed is itself susceptible of widely varying interpretations.

Positive expressions for "immortality" are lacking. The concept of eternity as applied to the life of man is, on the linguistic evidence, likewise a later development. To express the idea of a life beyond the grave, the earlier period uses only a negative prefix with a word meaning "death" or "decay" or the like; and even these expressions are in Homer exclusively, and in the Rig-Veda generally, reserved for the gods. A hint of later Indian thought is, however, possibly to be found in the Vedic meaning of "own" and "inner" for *nitya*, "eternal." Among the many negative expressions thus available to express "immortality," the Indo-European root *mer* (in the negative) is the one most commonly used.

These conventional symbols for "immortality," although retaining their general sense, come in time to diverge very widely in their precise significance. Of this statement the best proof is to be found in the development of the Indo-European root *mer*. Thus, while ἀμβροσίη in Homer finds its exact counterpart in the Vedic *amṛta* as the drink of the gods, the Vedic *amṛtatvam* has simply no cognate with parallel meaning in the Iliad or the Odyssey. *Amṛtatvam*, despite its clear etymology, may often better not be translated "immortality" at all, but rather "communion with the eternal through the medium of the Vedic sacrifice." ¹ This interpretation of the word is very close to the meaning given by Hesychius for the Greek ἀμβρο[οτ]ίζειν. Since the immortals in both Homer and the Rig-Veda are the gods, it is questionable whether man could become "immortal" at all without at the same time becoming divine. It is probable that in the early Indo-European period the belief in this kind of apotheosis was current: evidence is to be found in certain Orphic fragments, and in the parallel significance of *amṛtatvam* and ἀμβρο[οτ]ίζειν.

It is possible, however, that a confusion of ideas is reflected in the conflation of two Indo-European roots. The suggestion of Bugge ² that Skt. *mūrta* and Gr. βρότος, "gore" be connected, and that to the same Indo-European base be also ascribed the Gr. βρέτας, "a wooden image of a god," leads very easily to the supposition that at an early stage a conflation of two Indo-European *mer* roots took place — one meaning "thicken, assume form," the other meaning "die." This theory is supported by the use of both *amūrta*, "unincarnate," and "*amṛta*," "immortal," as epithets of deity, ³ by Hesychius' recognition of the possible connection between βρότος and βροτός, by Homer's statement ⁴ that the ἀμβροτοι are ἀναίμωτοι (i. e. ἀ-βρότος: *amūrta*), and precisely by the fact that *amṛtatvam* in the Rig-Veda is rather "extinction of personality" than "deathlessness." The ideas, moreover, are only philosophically different levels of the same basic concept; and all the existent relevant forms may be derived from an Indo-European base *mer* in either its monosyllabic or dissyllabic form.

¹ The implications of the modern words should be overlooked as far as possible.

² KZ, 19, 446.

³ Cf. *Çatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, 14, 5, 3, 1.

⁴ Il. V 339-342.

Since evidence exists in two separate Indo-European languages, this conflation is therefore assumed for the period of Indo-European unity.

LEE NORBERT GALLARY. — *The Latinity of the Dacian Inscriptions*.¹

THIS monograph is an examination of the Latin inscriptions which have been found in the province of Dacia and an interpretation of the linguistic tendencies discovered therein in the light of contemporary linguistic theory. For inscriptions unearthed before 1903, when the supplement to Volume iii of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* was published, the form given in the *Corpus* has been accepted as the best reading; for those which have been discovered since that date, the readings offered by the original editors have been adopted except in those cases where a later editing seemed to contain some improvement. The archaeological and linguistic periodicals from which these later inscriptions are cited are listed as a special section of the bibliography.

The method employed is very simple: it consists merely in reading the inscriptions and noting down the non-classical forms, then cataloguing these aberrant forms under the various headings of phonology, morphology, syntax, and vocabulary. Nor is the method new: analogous studies were made in the early part of this century by Pirson and Carnoy,² who treated, respectively, the inscriptional evidence of France and Spain. As is the case in the present paper, the results from the study of the French and Spanish inscriptions are largely phonological in scope, and the sections devoted to morphology, syntax, and vocabulary are little more than supplements.

The first main conclusion reached from the study of the inscriptions from Dacia is that the bulk of them offers no unity of features which would justify the setting up of a "Dacian" vulgar Latin. Any one of them if found in Spain would be as easily interpreted with the other Spanish inscriptions; the same ease of interpretation with the bulk of those from France would exist if the inscription were found on French soil. This condition would tend to prove that from the At-

¹ Degree in Comparative Philology.

² Pirson, J., *La langue des inscriptions latines de la Gaule*, Brussels, 1901. Carnoy, A., *Le latin d'Espagne d'après les inscriptions*, Brussels, 1906.

lantic to the Black Sea the written language at least was the same in the second and third centuries of the Christian era. Occasional examples of departure from general vulgar Latin usage are not lacking: there are no certain examples of *o* < *ŷ*, and there is only one example of a neuter noun treated as masculine, of which treatment France and Spain offer many examples. In the transliteration of the Greek aspirates by *PH*, *TH*, and *CH* the Dacian forms are proportionately much closer to the original, seeming thus to show greater influence of the Greek.

The question of final *s* presents the greatest difficulty of the sounds studied: in the modern languages Italian and Rumanian are grouped together by their loss of *-s*, but the epigraphic evidence seems best interpreted by assuming its pronunciation at the time from which our material dates. As for final *m*, the evidence is much stronger for its loss in pronunciation.

Among the negative results of the paper may be mentioned the complete lack of forms indicative of the most striking characteristics of modern Rumanian: there is nothing to suggest the rhotacism of intervocalic *l*; the occasional treatment of Latin labio-velars, **quatro* > *patru*, *aqua* > *apă*, for which Osco-Umbrian influence has been suggested, is nowhere in evidence on the stones.

In the conclusion is a formulation of Meillet's theory of the conservatism of peripheral languages, with an attempt to apply such a theory to the Romance languages in general and to Rumanian in particular. As regards both the general and particular application it was found that the theory, being unsuitable, in the light of the facts presented, for Romance, is incapable of sustaining the general interpretation given to it by Meillet.

BERNARD MANN PEEBLES. — *De Sulpici Severi operum
Martinianorum textus priscis fontibus.*¹

BETWEEN the years ca. 396 and 404 A.D. Sulpicius Severus related, in a group of short works, the life and miracles of his older contemporary († probably 397), St. Martin, third Bishop of Tours. These writings, composed in Southern Gaul, are the *Vita sancti*

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Martini and the appended *Epistulae* and *Dialogi*. The most recent critical edition is that of Karl Halm (*CSEL* I, Vienna, 1866).

The thesis opens with a *Prooemium*, in which the career of Sulpicius is sketched, the chronology of his Martinian writings approximately fixed, and a summary account given of their wide and early dispersion in Gaul, Italy, and more distant regions, east and west. The matter of the thesis proper is set out in six chapters.

The oldest known manuscript (*V*), *Veron. Capit. XXXVIII* (36), has not, as it seems, been directly studied by any editor of the text since Girolamo Da Prato first made use of it for his edition of 1741. An extended description of this manuscript, based on a personal examination, is given in Chapter I. The palaeographical analysis of *V* published in 1929 by Carusi and Lindsay is here supplemented or corrected in a number of ways, and special attention is called to a large repertory of ligatures employed in this model of early semiuncial writing (517 A.D.). The larger omissions of this copy tend to show its derivation from a manuscript (possibly in rustic capitals) written in short lines of 10-14 letters. The somewhat loose system employed in *V* to divide it into chapters is compared with the more rigorous methods often employed in other witnesses for the text, and the conclusion is reached that some system of sections, and possibly of chapter-summaries as well, goes back to an early date, and perhaps to the author himself.

Chapter II is divided into two parts. The former supplements the report of the text of *V* published by Halm on the basis of Reifferscheid's collation. More than 250 variants either passed over or incorrectly recorded in that report are here listed. Those involving mere orthography are generally ignored.¹ In the latter part of the chapter fifteen passages are closely examined in which the reading of *V* is now known for the first time. Account is here taken of nearly thirty manuscripts, nine printed editions, and three Latin metrical versions.² In eight of these passages a reading is preferred other than that adopted by Halm.³

¹ Chapter I includes a list of misspellings common in *V*.

² Of these one is inedited; see B. M. Peebles, in *Mem. Amer. Acad. Rome*, XIII (1936), 38 n. 3.

³ The readings here proposed are (reference is to page and line of Halm's edition): 115, 24 *profitetur*] *profitebatur* 124, 24 *nec sibi nec aliis* *adesse possent*] *quae sibi*

Between the date of *V* and that of our next oldest manuscript (*Bb*; see below) lies a gap of more than two hundred years. Chapter III is devoted to the study of two documents, neither cited by Halm, one certainly, the other probably, older than *Bb*, which contain brief quotations from the Sulpician text. In the first of these, the *Vita Severini* of Eugippius, written at Naples between 509 and 511, six or seven lines from Sulpicius (*Dial.* I 20. 7-9) are quoted (*Vit. Sev.* 36. 3) and in a form which suggests that Eugippius used a text not close to *V* but resembling that characteristically represented by certain manuscripts of Tours. The second work here cited is the anonymous treatise *De dubiis nominibus* last published (1868) by Keil (*GL V* 567-594). Arguments are brought forward in support of the conjecture¹ that the work was composed in Spain in the seventh century. In two of his six quotations from our text the anonymous grammarian differs from *V* and uses a reading found in all, or nearly all, of the other manuscripts. From the fragmentary evidence provided by these two documents it is concluded that in the sixth and seventh centuries, if not earlier, copies of Sulpicius in significant disaccord with *V* were current in widely distant areas.

In Chapter IV the first use is made of two fragments (*Bb*) of an uncial manuscript (*saec. VII/VIII*) preserved as flyleaves in *Vat. lat.* 5764, a ninth-century Isidore written at Bobbio, where also *Bb* was probably produced. The text preserved in *Bb*² shows no close affiliation with *V* alone and is most intimately connected with the *Dublinensis* of ca. 807 and with a series of *Turonenses* of which the earliest are of late eighth-century date.

A second hitherto unused uncial text of Sulpicius, *Ep. III* 6-21, is described in Chapter V. This text (*Br*) occupies fols. 113^v-115^v of *Vat. Barber. lat.* 671, an eighth-century manuscript written in Italy and consisting essentially of a collection of sermons brought to-

adesse non possent 126, 10 eodem] eodemque 131, 6 aut] et 149, 15 ut] et 149, 19 reddidit] caelo reddidit 158, 28 seditio] seditio est 189, 3 ministravit edenti] ministravit haec edenti.

¹ That of Manitius, *Gesch. d. lat. Lit. d. Mittelalt.*, I, 127-129.

² Two passages in the *Vita* (*Seuerus Desiderio* --- *Ego quidem* --- *latere uirtutes apud*, ed. Halm, 109, 1- 110, 2; *-bus ridere nonnulli* --- *nomine militauit*, 113, 11- 114, 6).

gether, as it appears, not long, at the latest, after 600 and possibly as early as ca. 550. If this Sulpician excerpt, once imbedded in the *Homiliarium*, was not subsequently altered from other sources, it exhibits, in spite of numerous lapses in spelling and syntax, a form of *Ep. III* current in the sixth century. From *Br* thirty-five passages are adduced in which it reads against *V* with all other known manuscripts. In a half-dozen cases of slight moment the *V* reading surely provides the better text, but in nearly all the others the agreement (*Y*) of *Br* and the rest exhibits a reading either superior, or not clearly inferior, to that found in *V*. The character of the readings¹ is such as to suggest the presence of two recensions, of which one, generally coming closer to the elegance for which Sulpicius is famed, appears in *V* alone, while the second, represented by the other manuscripts, is so widely dispersed as to make probable its descent from copies derived from an authoritative transcript of the autograph.

The hypothesis, thus suggested, of a double recension by Sulpicius himself is considered in a brief summary, Chapter VI, along with an examination of the hypothesis² that various non-*V* readings in our tradition are traceable to two recensions made at Tours, one under Bishop Perpetuus (461-491), the other after the publication (573-576) of Fortunatus's metrical version of the *Vita s. Martini* and the *Dialogi*. Since early evidence from Naples (Eugippius; ca. 510), from elsewhere in Italy (*Br*; *saec. VI ex.*), from Spain (*De dub. nom.*; *saec. VII* [?]), and from other regions,³ points, not only in *Ep. III* but in the other *opera Martiniana* as well,⁴ to the use of a non-*V* text, it seems reasonable to suppose that we have in this text, not a Turonese reworking, but an early and widely disseminated recension by the author himself, who later polished his work into a form now well represented in *V* alone, though certain other manuscripts show evidence of a once somewhat more extended currency of the later version.

¹ *Ep. III* 17 (149, 19-150, 4) is treated in some detail. Here the group *Y* shows a virtually uniform version of the reading reported in Halm's apparatus.

² See A. H. Chase, in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XLIII (1932), 51-76.

³ Another new manuscript used here and there in the thesis is *Sangallensis* 567, pp. 172-199 (*Gaz*), written at St. Gall *saec. VIII*². In *Ep. III* and generally in the *Vita* and *Ep. II* it stands apart from *V*.

⁴ No rigid demonstration of this point has been attempted.

FRANCIS MILLET ROGERS. — *The Pronunciation of the Madeira and Azores Dialects as compared with Standard Portuguese.*¹

THIS thesis falls into two divisions, namely Book I, *The standard language of Portugal*, and Book II, *The insular dialects*. In addition, a Preface, preceding Book I, discusses the author's reasons for undertaking this study, to furnish a background for a study of the Portuguese language as spoken in the United States of North America by the Portuguese immigrants, the majority of whom are from the Azores and Madeira. In this Preface bibliographies of Cape Verdean dialectology and of the Portuguese in North America are furnished.

The material for the thesis was gathered during a sojourn of fifteen months in Portugal, Madeira, and the Azores, made possible by the award of a Sheldon Travelling Fellowship to the author.

Book I consists of three parts. In Part I, "Introduction," the following topics are treated: (1) the question of a standard Portuguese language. Here a distinction is made between "dialect," "standard Portuguese," and "Luso-dialect," the latter being the result of interplay between the other two; and much recent information is presented concerning some eight forces which are now operating to superimpose standard Portuguese upon the dialects: ease of travel within Portugal, education, the Church, military service, talking moving pictures and the theater, newspapers, advertising, and radio broadcasting. (2) A history of the study of Portuguese phonetics. (3) A discussion of method, including a résumé of current principles and recent discoveries in experimental phonetics (phoneme, vowel theories, vibratory movements versus mass movements, acoustic analysis versus articulatory analysis, tone inflection, steering, coarticulation, and phonic structure versus sonic structure). And (4) the problem of a suitable *phonemic* alphabet.

In Part II, "The individual speech-sounds," which is sub-divided into sections on the vowels, on the semi-vowels, diphthongs, and triphthongs, and on the consonants, and in Part III, "The speech-sounds in connected discourse," a full discussion of the pronunciation of standard Portuguese is given, based on observations made by the

¹ Degree in Comparative Philology.

author and on all the published works known to him which discuss Portuguese phonetics, the latter, 32 in number, being listed in a critical bibliography in the appendix to Book I.

Concerning each of the 34 phonemes of standard Portuguese, as well as concerning each of the variphones mentioned, the author, in accordance with his chapter on method, presents his material under the following headings: orthography, examples, auditory impression, acoustic analysis (very little to present), and physiological production. Every effort was made to avoid the use of physiological terminology, "open," "close," "back," "central," or the like, except in the actual physiological descriptions.

Book II consists of four parts. Part I is an account of the method the author followed in studying the insular dialects; it contains a *Questionnaire for the comparison of Portuguese dialects and of brasileiro with standard Portuguese*, based on Book I and consisting of 202 questions.

Part II contains a description of the pronunciation heard on the two inhabited islands of the archipelago of Madeira, and Part III of that heard on the nine islands of the archipelago of the Azores. Each of these two parts has an introductory chapter giving pertinent non-linguistic information, including a discussion of the forces which were found to be spreading standard Portuguese at the expense of the dialects on the continent. And each has an appendix containing a critical bibliography, of Madeiran and of Azorean dialectology respectively.

As for each individual insular dialect, the special phonetic characteristics are first given; then other pronunciations which were heard and which are recorded in this thesis as answers to questions in the questionnaire; next the pronunciation of particular vocables (e. g. *açúcar, água, Espírito Santo, muito, quási, também*); and lastly conclusions, together with a discussion of the Luso-dialect. In the case of the dialects of Madeira and São Miguel, those which differ the most from standard Portuguese, a transcription of a text is given. A complete discussion of the "Bretanha" question in São Miguel, including the Louis XVII legend, and of the "Flamengos" question in Faial is also given. At the end of Part III there is a chapter on the grouping of the Azorean dialects which contains a table of the occurrences of the different phonetic characteristics of the insular dialects.

Part IV of Book II, entitled "Historical considerations and conclusions," deals with the history of the discovery and colonization of insular Portugal. The last chapter of the dissertation is entitled "General conclusions concerning the insular dialects, and their relationship to standard Portuguese," the dominant conclusion being that the present-day insular dialects represent the result, on each of the eleven islands, of the independent spontaneous phonetic evolution of the standard Portuguese of the 15th century, a language which naturally contained within itself the seeds of the later changes.

A general bibliography, containing 244 entries, and an analytical index conclude the thesis.

ALBERT HARTMAN TRAVIS. — *De Servii Carminum Vergilianorum Interpretis Dicendi Rationibus*.¹

THE primary aim of this study is to present through detailed stylistic analysis a comprehensive picture of the mechanics of the Latin scholiast's expository method; the secondary aim is to bring the material involved in this presentation to bear upon the "Servius question," that is, the relationship of S (Servius) to D (scholia Danielis) and of D to Donatus's lost commentary on Virgil.

In the *Praefatio*, it is established as a principle fundamental to the sound treatment of the language of S and D that a radical distinction be made between the various types of exposition found in the commentaries. The narrative style of the mythological and historical scholia, the philosopher's language of the miniature "diatribes," and the clipped, formulistic speech of the typical grammarian's elucidation must be regarded stylistically as separate and distinct subjects for investigation. It is with the last of the types above enumerated, — one which may be called the grammarian's own and in which four-fifths of the Servian comments are written, — that this dissertation is concerned.

In the first chapter, the general aspect of this *genus scholiasticum* is briefly described. Its chief characteristics are (1) that it is non-periodic in the extreme and (2) that its curt sentences and clauses are closely linked together either by conjunctions and conjunctive

¹ Degree in Classical Philology.

adverbs, or by certain stereotyped words and phrases, or (not infrequently) by both. It follows, therefore, that these *verba initialia* are the key to an understanding of the structure of the scholiastic elucidation.

The second chapter is devoted to the analysis ¹ of S's usage of initial words: A. Stereotyped words: *notandum*, *sciendum*; *vacat*, *deest*, *subaudi*; *bene* (and similar adverbs); *modo*, *nunc*, *hic*, *ecce*, *plerumque*; *alii*, *quidam*, *multi*, *nonnulli*. B. Subordinating words: *qui quae quod*; *quia*, *quod* (etc.); *quod* substantive; *ut* final and consecutive; *ut* and *sicut*; *licet*, *quamquam* (etc.); *si* and conditional sentences; *cum*, *quando*, *quotiens*. C. Coordinating words: *et*; *nec* and *neque*; *aut* and *vel*; *autem*, *sed*, *vero* (etc.); *nam*, *enim* (etc.); *ergo*, *ideo* (etc.); *hic haec hoc*; *quod* with general antecedent; *sane*. D. Formulae by which quotations are introduced. E. Interrogative words and rhetorical questions. F. Formulae by which paraphrases are introduced.

In the third chapter, D is dealt with in the same way, except that in connection with every point that provides a basis for comparison the usage of S is briefly recalled. This method brings out the differences in the stylistic traits of S and D, and affords new and definitive support of the view that these two bodies of scholia, whatever their relationship may be in regard to *source*, cannot be considered as the product of the same *immediate* hand.

The fourth and final chapter arises from the view that D comes more or less directly from Donatus's lost commentary on Virgil. The style of the extant commentary on Terence ² is analyzed and compared with D, S being introduced to provide perspective. This leads to the conclusion that, although Donatus and D present striking similarities which may point to a fundamental affinity, there are still too many important differences between them, if the *Terence Commentary* represents in general Donatus's method of exposition, to permit one to say that D has preserved the *ipsissima verba* of Donatus's lost commentary on Virgil.

¹ The detailed analysis of S and D is limited to the first two books of the *Aeneid*. I am indebted to the editors of the *Editio Harvardiana* of Servius for permitting me to make use of their manuscript.

² This analysis is limited to the comments on the first three acts of the *Andria*, which are about equal in bulk to the D scholia on the first two books of the *Aeneid*.

HOLLIS RITCHIE UPSON. — *Mediaeval Lives of Virgil*.¹

A CONSIDERABLE number of *Vitae Vergilianae* have their origin in the Middle Ages. An Insular flavor is apparent in the manuscripts in which these Lives appear, and in the Lives themselves. They are closely related to that phase of the scholarly activity of the ninth century which concerned itself with Virgil; their chief purpose was to serve as introductions to the great poet's works. A number of these "Irish Lives" appear in Brummer's edition of the *Vitae Vergilianae*; ² akin to them are the two *Expositiones Virgilii poetae* published by Funaioli ³ from the manuscripts Vossianus F 79 (V) and Montepesulanus 358 (P), and the Vita printed by Hagen ⁴ from the manuscript Bernensis 167 (B).

A new and important member of the group has recently been discovered by Professor E. K. Rand in a manuscript of Leyden, Vossianus F 12 γ (Voss.); in this study it is presented for the first time, together with an analysis of its text and contents. On the basis of similar detailed analyses of the remaining Lives of this class and of the minor "Irish Lives," their relation to each other, to their sources, and to the general tradition of the *Vitae Vergilianae* is determined.

The ancestor of the "Irish Lives" may antedate the ninth century; a part of the contents of this original is preserved in γ I, another part in B. Varying amounts of the information contained in γ I and B appear in company with some additional materials in the remaining Lives. None of the "Irish Lives" is a copy of any other; Voss. and S₁ are closely related; they reflect the form of the original Life more accurately than does B and its associates m, V, and P. γ I is patterned after Servius.

The seven major "Irish Lives" are constructed according to a general plan related to the systems of periochae known in antiquity and to later writers from Augustine to Alcuin. They are very early examples of the *accessus* which gradually came into widespread use and

¹ Degree in Mediaeval Latin.

² I. Brummer, *Vitae Vergilianae*, 2nd ed., Lipsiae, 1933. The *Vita Noricensis* I (S₁), the *Vita Monacensis* (m), and the *Vita Gudiana* I (γ I) are the best examples.

³ G. Funaioli, *Esegesi Virgiliana antica*, Milano, 1930, pp. 106-109.

⁴ H. Hagen, "Scholia Bernensia ad Vergili Bucolica et Georgica," *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie, Supplementband IV* (1861-1867), pp. 996-998.

flourished particularly during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. A certain knowledge of Greek is apparent in these compositions; they also contain a number of remarkable etymologies. These are features characteristic of the commentaries of John the Scot and Remigius of Auxerre; their influence may be reflected in some of the Lives. At least two of Remigius' commentaries have passages striking in their similarity to certain parts of the Lives; the interest of John the Scot in the preparation of *accessus Vergiliani* is attested by the extant Virgilian periochae which bear his name.

A larger understanding of the "Irish Lives" and their antecedents would add to the fund of information on the state of learning in the Isles during the period before the Carolingian Renaissance, and contribute to the knowledge of the commentaries on Virgil which came to the Continent with the scholars from Ireland. This present study may be considered as a step in the direction of that desirable goal.

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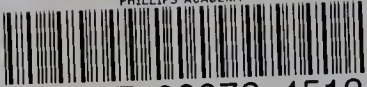
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